

R. Wale inv.t *Isaac Taylor sculp*

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES,

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL GREEK,

WITH NOTES,

CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL,

AND

A New Life of Plutarch.

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AND

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MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

DION.

AS we learn from Simonides, my dear Senecio, that the Trojans were by no means offended at the Corinthians for joining the confederates in the Grecian war, becauſe the family of Glaucus, their own ally, was originally of Corinth, ſo neither the Greeks nor the Romans have reaſon to complain of the academy, which has been equally favourable to both. This will appear from the Lives of Brutus and Dion; for, as one was the ſcholar of Plato, and the other educated in his principles, they came like wreſtlers from the ſame Palaeſtra, to engage in the greateſt conflicts. Both by their conduct, in which there was a great ſimilarity, confirmed that obſervation of their maſter, that "power and fortune muſt concur with prudence "and juſtice, to effect any thing great in a political "capacity:" But as Hippomachus, the wreſtler,

ſaid, that he could diſtinguiſh his ſcholars at a diſtance, though they were only carrying meat from the market; ſo the ſentiments of thoſe who have had a polite education, muſt have a ſimilar influence on their manners, and give a peculiar grace and propriety to their conduct.

Accident, however, rather than deſign, gave a ſimilarity to the lives of theſe two great men; and both were cut off by an untimely death, before they could carry the purpoſes, which they had purſued with ſo much labour, into execution. The moſt ſingular circumſtance attending their death was, that both had a divine warning of it, in the appearance of a frightful ſpectre. There are thoſe, indeed, who ſay, that no man in his ſenſes ever ſaw a ſpectre; that theſe are the deluſive viſions of women and children; or of men whoſe intellects are affected by ſome infirmity of the body; and who believe that their abſurd imaginations are of divine inſpiration. But if Dion and Brutus, men of firm and philoſophic minds, whoſe underſtandings were not affected by any conſtitutional infirmity; if ſuch men could pay ſo much credit to the appearance of ſpectres, as to give an account of them to their friends, I ſee no reaſon why we ſhould depart from the opinion of the antients, that men had their evil genii, who diſturbed them with fears, and diſtreſſed their virtue, leſt by a ſteady and uniform purſuit of it, they ſhould hereafter obtain a happier allotment than themſelves*. Theſe things, however, I muſt refer to another occaſion; and in his twelfth book of parallel lives, of which Dion and Brutus are the ſubjects, I ſhall begin with the more ancient.

After Dionyſius the Elder had ſeized the govern-

* This is perfectly agreeable to the Platonic doctrine of the different orders and diſpoſitions of the *genii*. And as Dion and Brutus were both great enthuſiaſts in Platoniſm, the *ſtrength of their faith* brought their ſpectres before them.

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ment of Sicily, he married the daughter of Hermocrates, a Syracuſan. But as the monarchic power was yet but ill eſtabliſhed, ſhe had the misfortune to be ſo much abuſed in her perſon by an outrageous faction, that ſhe put an end to her life. When Dionyſius was confirmed in his government, he married two wives at the ſame time. One was Doris, a native of Locris; the other Ariſtomache, the daughter of Hipparinus, who was a principal perſon in Syracuſe, and colleague with Dionyſius, when he was firſt appointed general of the Sicilian forces. It is ſaid that he married theſe wives on the ſame day. It is not certain which he enjoyed firſt, but he was impartial in his kindneſs to them; for both attended him at his table, and alternately partook of his bed. As Doris had the diſadvantage of being a foreigner, the Syracuſans ſought every means of obtaining the preference for their countrywoman; but it was more than equivalent to this diſadvantage that ſhe had the honour of giving Dionyſius his eldeſt ſon. Ariſtomache, on the contrary, was a long time barren, though the king was extremely deſirous of having children by her; and put to death the mother of Doris, upon a ſuppoſition that ſhe had prevented her conception by potions.

Dion, the brother of Ariſtomache, was well received at court; not only on her account, but from the regard which Dionyſius had for his merit and abilities; and that prince gave his treaſurer an order to ſupply him with whatever money he wanted; but, at the ſame time, to keep an account of what he received.

But whatever the talents and the virtues of Dion might be originally, it is certain that they received the happieſt improvement under the auſpices of Plato. Surely the gods, in mercy to mankind, ſent that divine philoſopher from Italy to Syracuſe, that, through the humane influence of his doctrine, the

ſpirit of liberty might once more revive, and the inhabitants of that country be reſcued from tyranny *.

Dion ſoon became the moſt diſtinguiſhed of his ſcholars. To the fertility of his genius, and the excellence of his diſpoſition, Plato himſelf has given teſtimony †; and he did the greateſt honour to that teſtimony in his life: for though he had been educated in ſervile principles under a tyrant; though he had been familiarized to dependence, on the one hand, and to the indulgence of pomp and luxury, as the greateſt happineſs, on the other,—yet he was no ſooner acquainted with that philoſophy which points out the road to virtue, than his whole ſoul caught the enthuſiaſm; and, with the ſimplicity of a young man, who judges of the diſpoſitions of others by his own, he concluded that Plato's lectures would have the ſame effect on Dionyſius: for this reaſon he ſolicited, and at length perſuaded, the tyrant to hear him. When Plato was admitted, the diſcourſe turned on virtue in general. Afterwards they came to fortitude in particular; and Plato made it appear, that tyrants have, of all men, the leaſt pretence to that virtue. Juſtice was the next topic; and when Plato aſſerted the happineſs of the juſt, and the wretched condition of the unjuſt, the tyrant was ſtung; and being unable to anſwer his arguments, he expreſſed his reſentment againſt thoſe who ſeemed to liſten to him with pleaſure. At laſt he was extremely exaſperated, and aſked the philoſopher what buſineſs he had in Sicily. Plato anſwered, that he came to ſeek an honeſt man—"And ſo, then," replied the tyrant, "it ſeems you have loſt your "labour." Dion was in hopes that his anger would have ended here; but while Plato was haſtening to

* Plato in his ſeventh letter, ſays, "When I explained the "principles of philoſophy and humanity to Dion, I little "thought that I was inſenſibly opening a way to the ſubverſion "of tyranny!"

† Plato, ibid.

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be gone, he conveyed him aboard a galley, in which Pollis, the Lacedaemonian, was returning to Greece. Dionyſius urged Pollis either to put Plato to death in his paſſage, or, at leaſt, to ſell him as a ſlave: "For, according to his own maxim," ſaid he, "this "man cannot be unhappy; a juſt man, he ſays, "muſt be happy in a ſtate of ſlavery, as well as in "a ſtate of freedom." Pollis, therefore, carried him to Ægina, and ſold him there *; for the people of that place, being at war with the Athenians, had made a decree, that whatever Athenian was taken on their coaſt, he ſhould be ſold. Dion, notwithſtanding, retained his intereſt with Dionyſius, had conſiderable employments, and was ſent ambaſſador to Carthage: Dionyſius had a very high eſteem for him; and he, therefore, permitted him to ſpeak his ſentiments with freedom. An inſtance of this we have in the retort he made on the tyrant's ridiculing the government of Gelo. "Gelo," ſaid Dionyſius, "is *(Gelos)* the laughing-ſtock of Sicily." While others admired and applauded this witticiſm, Dion anſwered, "You obtained the crown by being "truſted on Gelo's account, who reigned with "great humanity; but you have reigned in ſuch "a manner, that, for your ſake, no man will be "truſted hereafter. Gelo made monarchy appear "the beſt of governments, but you have con-"vinced us that it is the worſt." Dionyſius had three children by Doris, and four by Ariſtomache, whereof two were daughters, Sophroſyne and Arete. The former of theſe was married to his eldeſt ſon, Dionyſius; the latter to her brother, Thearides; and after his death to her uncle, Dion. In the laſt illneſs of Dionyſius, Dion would have applied to him in behalf of the children of Ariſtomache; but the phyſicians were beforehand with him: they wanted to ingratiate themſelves with his ſucceſſor; and when

* For twenty pounds.

he aſked for a ſleeping doſe, Timaeus tells us, they gave him ſo effectual a one, that he awaked no more.

When his ſon Dionyſius came to the throne, in the firſt council that he held, Dion ſpoke with ſo much propriety on the preſent ſtate of affairs, and on the meaſures which ought to be taken, that the reſt appeared to be mere children in underſtanding. By the freedom of his councils, he expoſed, in a ſtrong light, the ſlaviſh principles of thoſe who, through a timorous diſingenuity, adviſed ſuch meaſures as they thought would pleaſe their prince, rather than ſuch as might advance his intereſt. But what alarmed them moſt was, the ſteps he propoſed to take with regard to the impending war with Carthage; for he offered either to go in perſon to Carthage, and ſettle an honourable peace with the Carthaginians, or, if the king were rather inclined for war, to fit out and maintain fifty gallies at his own expence.

Dionyſius was pleaſed with the magnificence of his ſpirit; but the courtiers felt that it made them appear little. They agreed that, at all events, Dion was to be cruſhed; and they ſpared no calumny that malice could ſuggeſt. They repreſented to the king, that he certainly meant to make himſelf maſter by ſea, and by that means to obtain the kingdom for his ſiſter's children. There was, moreover, another and an obvious cauſe of their hatred to him, in the reſerve of his manners, and the ſobriety of his life. They led the young and ill-educated king through every ſpecies of debauchery, and were the ſhameleſs panders to his wrong-directed paſſions. Yet while folly rioted, tyranny ſlept; its rage was diſſolved in the ardour of youthful indulgences, as iron is ſoftened in the fire; and that lenity which the Sicilians could not expect from the virtue of their prince, they found in his weakneſs. Thus the reins of that monarchy, which Dionyſius vainly called adamantine,

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fell gradually, from the looſe and diſſolute hand that held them. This young prince, it is ſaid, would continue the ſcene of intoxication for ninety days without intermiſſion; during which time no ſober perſon was admitted to his court, where all was drunkenneſs and buffoonery, revelry and riot.

Their enmity to Dion, who had no taſte for theſe enjoyments, was a thing of courſe; and, as he refuſed to partake with them in their vices, they reſolved to ſtrip him of his virtues. To theſe they gave the names of ſuch vices as are ſuppoſed in ſome degree to reſemble them. His gravity of manners they called pride; his freedom of ſpeech, inſolence; his declining to join in their licentiouſneſs, contempt. It is true, there was a natural haughtineſs in his deportment, and an aſperity that was unſociable and difficult of acceſs; ſo that it is not to be wondered if he found no ready admiſſion to the ears of a young king, already ſpoiled by flattery. Many, even of his own particular friends, who admired the integrity and generoſity of his heart, could not but condemn thoſe forbidding manners, which were ſo ill-adapted to ſocial and political intercourſe; and Plato himſelf, when he wrote to him ſome time after, warned him, as it were by the ſpirit of prophecy, *to guard againſt that auſterity which is the companion of ſolitude* *. However, the neceſſity of the times, and the feeble ſtate of the monarchy, rendered it neceſſary for the king, though contrary to his inclination, to retain him in the higheſt appointments; and this Dion himſelf very well knew.

As he was willing to impute the irregularities of Dionyſius to ignorance and a bad education, he endeavoured to engage him in a courſe of liberal ſtu-

* ἡ δὲ αὐθαδεια ἐρημια ξυνοικος. Literally, *Haughtineſs lives under the ſame roof with ſolitude.* This is towards the end of Plato's fourth letter. It is preceded by a fine political precept, viz. That the complaiſance which produces popularity, is the ſource of the greateſt operations in government.

dies, and to give him a taſte for thoſe ſciences which have a tendency to moral improvement. By this means he hoped that he ſhould induce him to think of virtue without diſguſt, and at length to embrace its precepts with pleaſure. The young Dionyſius was not naturally the worſt of princes; but his father being apprehenſive that if his mind was improved by ſcience and the converſation of wiſe and virtuous men, he might ſome time or other think of depriving him of his kingdom, kept him in cloſe confinement; where, through ignorance and want of other employment, he amuſed himſelf with making little chariots, candleſticks, wooden chairs, and tables. His father, indeed, was ſo ſuſpicious of all mankind, and ſo wretchedly timorous, that he would not ſuffer a barber to ſhave him; but had his hair ſinged off with a live coal by one of his own attendants. Neither his brother nor his ſon were admitted into his chamber in their own clothes, but were firſt ſtripped and examined by the ſentinels, and after that were obliged to put on ſuch clothes as were provided for them. When his brother Leptines was once deſcribing the ſituation of a place, he took a ſpear from one of the guards to trace the plan; upon which Dionyſius was extremely offended, and cauſed the ſoldier who had given up his ſpear to be put to death. He was afraid, he ſaid, of the ſenſe and ſagacity of his friends, becauſe he knew they muſt think it more eligible to govern than to obey. He ſlew Marſyas, whom he had advanced to a conſiderable military command, merely becauſe Marſyas dreamed that he killed him; for he concluded that this dream by night was occaſioned by ſome ſimilar ſuggeſtion of the day. Yet even this timorous and ſuſpicious wretch was offended with Plato, becauſe he would not allow him to be the moſt valiant man in the world.

When Dion, as we have before obſerved, conſidered that the irregularities of young Dionyſius were

were chiefly owing to his want of education, he exhorted him earneſtly to apply himſelf to ſtudy; and by all means to ſend for Plato, the prince of philoſophers, into Sicily. "When he comes," ſaid he, "apply to him without loſs of time. Conformed "by his precepts to that divine exemplar of beauty "and perfection, which called the univerſe from "confuſion into order, you will at once ſecure your "own happineſs, and the happineſs of your people. "The obedience they now render you through fear, "by your juſtice and moderation you will improve "to a principle of filial duty; and of a tyrant, you "will become a king. Fear and force, and fleets "and armies, are not, as your father called them, "the adamantine chains of government; but that "attention, that affection, that reſpect, which juſtice "and goodneſs for ever draw after them. Theſe are "the milder, but the ſtronger bonds of empire. "Beſides, it is ſurely a diſgrace for a prince, who, in "all the circumſtances of figure and appearance, is "diſtinguiſhed from the people, not to riſe above "them at the ſame time, in the ſuperiority of his "converſation, and the cultivation of his mind."

As Dion frequently ſolicited the king on this ſubject, and occaſionally repeated ſome of Plato's arguments, he conceived at length a violent inclination to hear him diſcourſe. He therefore ſent ſeveral letters of invitation to him at Athens, which were ſeconded by the intreaties of Dion. The Pythagorean philoſophers in Italy requeſted at the ſame time, that he would undertake the direction of this young prince, whoſe mind was miſguided by power, and reclaim him by the ſolid counſels of philoſophy. Plato, as he owns himſelf, was aſhamed to be a philoſopher in theory, and not in practice; and, flattering himſelf that if he could rectify the mind of the prince, he might by the ſame means remedy the diſorders of the kingdom, he yielded to their requeſt.

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The enemies of Dion now fearing an alteration in Dionyſius, adviſed him to recal from exile one Philiſtus, who was, indeed, a man of learning *, but employed his talents in defence of the deſpotic policy; and this man they intended to ſet in oppoſition to Plato and his philoſophy. Philiſtus, from the beginning had been a principal inſtrument in promoting the monarchic government, and kept the citadel, of which he was governor, a long time for that party. It is ſaid that he had a private commerce with the mother of the elder Dionyſius, and that the tyrant himſelf was not ignorant of it. Be this as it may, Leptines, who had two daughters by a married woman whom he had debauched, gave one of them in marriage to Philiſtus: but this being done without conſulting Dionyſius, he was offended; impriſoned Leptines's miſtreſs, and baniſhed Philiſtus. The latter fled to his friends at Adria, where, it is probable, he compoſed the greateſt part of his hiſtory; for he did not return to Sicily during the reign of that Dionyſius. After his death, as we have obſerved, Dion's enemies occaſioned him to be recalled. His arbitrary principles were ſuitable for their purpoſe, and he began to exerciſe them immediately on his return.

At the ſame time calumnies and impeachments againſt Dion were, as uſual, brought to the king. He was accuſed of holding a private correſpondence with Theodoſes and Heraclides, for the ſubverſion of the monarchy; and, indeed, it is probable, that he entertained ſome hopes from the arrival of Plato, of leſſening the exceſſive power of Dionyſius, or, at leaſt, of making him moderate and equitable in the uſe of it. Beſides, if he continued obſtinate, and was not to be reclaimed, he was determined to depoſe him, and

* He wrote the hiſtories of Egypt, Sicily, and the reign of Dionyſius. Cicero calls him the Petty Thucydides: *Puſillus Thucydides.*

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reſtore the commonwealth to the Syracuſans; for he preferred even the popular form of government to an abſolute monarchy, where a well regulated ariſtocracy could not be procured.

Such was the ſtate of affairs when Plato came into Sicily. At firſt he was received with the greateſt appearance of kindneſs; and he was conveyed from the coaſt in one of the king's moſt ſplendid chariots. Even Dionyſius himſelf ſacrificed to the gods in acknowledgment of his ſafe arrival, and of the honour and happineſs they had by that means conferred on his kingdom. The people had the greateſt hopes of a ſpeedy reformation. They obſerved an unuſual decorum in the entertainments at court, and a ſobriety in the conduct of the courtiers; while the king anſwered all to whom he gave audience, in a very obliging manner. The deſire of learning, and the ſtudy of philoſophy were become general; and the ſeveral apartments of the royal palace were like ſo many ſchools of geometricians, full of the duſt in which the ſtudents deſcribe their mathematical figures. Not long after this, at a ſolemn ſacrifice in the citadel, when the herald prayed, as uſual, for the long continuance of the government, Dionyſius is ſaid to have cried, "How long will you continue to "curſe me?" This was an inexpreſſible mortification to Philiſtus and his party: if Plato, ſaid they, has already made ſuch a change in the king, his influence in time will be irreſiſtible.

They now no longer made their attacks on Dion ſeparately, or in private. They united in exclaiming againſt him, that he had faſcinated the king with the deluſions of eloquence and philoſophy, in order to obtain the kingdom for his ſiſter's children. They repreſented it as a matter of the greateſt indignity, that, after the whole force of the Athenians had vainly invaded Sicily, and were vanquiſhed and deſtroyed without ſo much as being able to take Syracuſe, they ſhould now, by means of one ſophiſt,

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overturn the empire of Dionyſius. It was with indignation they beheld the deluded monarch prevailed on by his inſinuations to part with his guard of ten thouſand ſpearmen, to give up a navy of four hundred galleys, to diſband an army of ten thouſand horſe, and many times that number of foot, in order that he might purſue an ideal happineſs in the academy, and amuſe himſelf with theorems of geometry, while the ſubſtantial enjoyments of wealth and power were left to Dion and the children of Ariſtomache.

By means of theſe ſuggeſtions Dion firſt incurred the ſuſpicion, and ſoon after the open diſpleaſure of Dionyſius. A letter of his was likewiſe intercepted, and privately carried to the king: it was addreſſed to the Carthaginian agents, and directed them not to have their audience of the king concerning the concluſion of the peace, unleſs he were preſent, and then every thing ſhould be ſettled as they wiſhed. Timaeus informs us, that after Dionyſius had ſhewed this letter to Philiſtus, and conſulted him upon it, he over-reached Dion by a pretence of reconciliation, and told him, that he was deſirous their good underſtanding might be renewed. After this, as he was one day walking alone with him by the wall of the caſtle, near the ſea, he ſhewed him the letter, and accuſed him of conſpiring with the Carthaginians againſt him. When Dion attempted to ſpeak in his own defence, Dionyſius refuſed to hear him; and having forced him on board a veſſel, which lay there for the purpoſe, commanded the ſailors to ſet him aſhore in Italy.

When this was publicly known, it was generally condemned as tyrannical and cruel. The court was in diſtreſs for the ladies of Dion's family; but the citizens received freſh courage from the event: for they were in hopes that the odium, which it would bring upon Dionyſius, and the general diſcontent that his government occaſioned, might contribute to bring about a revolution. Dionyſius perceived

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this with ſome anxiety, and thinking it neceſſary to pacify the women and the reſt of Dion's friends, he told them that he was not gone into exile, but only ſent out of the way for a time, that his obſtinacy might not draw upon him a heavier puniſhment. He alſo allowed his friends two ſhips, that they might convey to him, in Peloponneſus, as much of his treaſure, and as many of his ſervants, as they ſhould think fit; for Dion was a man of conſiderable property, and little inferior to the king in wealth or magnificence. The moſt valuable part of his effects, together with preſents from the ladies, and others of his acquaintance, his friends conveyed to him; and the ſplendour of his fortune gained him great reſpect among the Greeks. At the ſame time they conceived a high idea of the power of the tyrant, when an exile from the kingdom could make ſuch an appearance.

Dionyſius now removed Plato into the citadel, under colour of kindneſs; but in reality to ſet a guard upon him, leſt he ſhould follow Dion, and proclaim to the world how injuriouſly he had been treated.

As wild beaſts become tame and tractable by uſe, ſo the tyrant, by frequent converſation with the philoſopher, began at laſt to conceive an affection for him; yet even that affection had ſomething of the tyrant in it; for he required of Plato, in return, that he ſhould excluſively confine his regard and admiration to him: on condition that he would prefer his friendſhip to that of Dion, he was willing to give up the whole adminiſtration into his hands. This extravagant affection gave Plato no ſmall trouble; for it was accompanied with petulance and jealouſy, as the love which ſubſiſts between the different ſexes has its quarrels and reconciliations. He expreſſed the ſtrongeſt deſire to become Plato's ſcholar, and to proceed in the ſtudy of philoſophy; but he expreſſed it with reluctance, in the preſence of thoſe who wanted

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to divert him from his purpoſe, and ſeemed as if he was in purſuit of ſomething he ought to be aſhamed of.

As a war broke out about this time, he found it neceſſary to diſmiſs Plato; but he promiſed him, before his departure, to recal Dion the enſuing ſummer; however, he did not keep his promiſe, but made the war he was engaged in his apology, and remitted to him the produce of his eſtate: at the ſame time he deſired Plato to acquieſce in his apology, aſſuring him that he would ſend for Dion on the commencement of the peace; and he intreated, in the mean while, that Dion would be peaceable, and not ſay or do any thing that might hurt his character among the Greeks. This Plato endeavoured to effect, by keeping Dion in the academy in purſuit of philoſophy.

At Athens, Dion lived with an acquaintance, whoſe name was Callippus; but a piece of pleaſure-ground, which he purchaſed, he gave, on his departure, to Speuſippus, with whom he had moſt uſually converſed. Speuſippus, as Timon, in his poems called *Syllis*, informs us, was a facetious companion, and had a turn for raillery; and Plato was deſirous that Dion's ſeverity of manners might be ſoftened by the pleaſantry of his converſation. When Plato exhibited a chorus * of boys at Athens, Dion took upon himſelf the management, and defrayed the expence. Plato was deſirous that this munificence might procure him popularity; and on that account he readily gave up the honour of conducting the affair himſelf.

Dion likewiſe viſited other cities, and converſed with the principal ſtateſmen, by whom he was publicly entertained. In his manners there was now no longer any thing pompous or affected; there was

* This was a dramatic entertainment, exhibited with great expence and magnificence on the feaſt of Bacchus.

nothing

nothing that ſavoured of the diſſolute luxury of a tyrant's court; his behaviour was modeſt, diſcreet, and manly, and his philoſophical diſcourſes were learned and ingenious. This procured him popular favour and public honours, and the Lacedaemonians, without regard to the reſentment of Dionyſius, though at that very time they had received ſuccours from him againſt the Thebans, made him free of their city. We are told that Dion accepted an invitation from Ptoedorus, the Megarenſian, who was a man of conſiderable power and fortune; and when he found his door crowded with people on buſineſs, and that it was difficult to have acceſs to him, he ſaid to his friends, who expreſſed their diſſatisfaction on the occaſion, "Why ſhould this affront us? we "did this, and more than this, at Syracuſe."

Dion's popularity in Greece ſoon excited the jealouſy of Dionyſius, who therefore ſtopped his remittances, and put his eſtate in the hands of his own ſtewards. However, that his reputation might not ſuffer, through Plato's means, amongſt the philoſophers, he retained a number of learned men in his court; and being deſirous to outſhine them all in diſputation, he frequently was under a neceſſity of introducing, without the leaſt propriety, the arguments he had learnt from Plato. He now wiſhed for that philoſopher again, and repented that he had ſo ill availed himſelf of his inſtructions. Like a tyrant, therefore, whoſe deſires, however extravagant, are immediately to be complied with, he was violently bent on recalling him. To effect this, he thought of every expedient; and at length prevailed on Archytas, and the reſt of the Pythagorean philoſophers, to pledge themſelves for the performance of his promiſes, and to perſuade him to return to Sicily; for it was Plato that firſt introduced thoſe philoſophers to Dionyſius.

On their part, they ſent Archidemus to Plato; and Dionyſius, at the ſame time, ſent ſome gallies, with

ſeveral

ſeveral of his friends, to join in their requeſt. The tyrant, likewiſe, wrote to him, and told him, in plain terms, that Dion muſt expect no favour from him, if Plato ſhould not come into Sicily; but upon his arrival, he might depend on every thing he deſired. Dion was alſo ſolicited by his ſiſter and wife to prevail with Plato to gratify the tyrant, that he might no longer have an apology for the ſeverity of his treatment. Plato, therefore, as he ſays himſelf, ſet ſail the third time for Sicily,

To brave Charybdis' dreadful gulph once more! *

His arrival was not only a ſatisfaction to Dionyſius, but to all Sicily; the inhabitants of which did not fail to implore the gods that Plato might overcome Philiſtus, and that the tyranny might expire under the influence of his philoſophy. Plato was in high favour with the women in particular; and with Dionyſius he had ſuch credit as no other perſon could boaſt, for he was allowed to come to him without being ſearched. When Ariſtippus, the Cyrenean, obſerved, that the king frequently offered Plato money, and that Plato as conſtantly refuſed it, he ſaid that Dionyſius was liberal without danger of exhauſting his treaſury; for to thoſe who wanted, and would take money, he was ſparing in his offers; but profuſe where he knew it would be refuſed.

After the firſt civilities were over, Plato took an opportunity to mention Dion; but the tyrant put him off, till at laſt expoſtulations and animoſities took place. Theſe, however, Dionyſius was induſtrious to conceal; and endeavoured to bring over Plato from the intereſt of Dion by repeated favours and ſtudied civilities. The philoſopher, on the other hand, did not immediately publiſh his perfidy, but diſſembled his reſentment. While things were thus

* Odyſſ. l. xii.

cir-

circumſtanced, Helicon of Cyzicus, one of Plato's followers, foretold an eclipſe of the ſun; and as it happened according to his prediction, the king, in admiration of his learning, rewarded him with a talent of ſilver. Upon this Ariſtippus, jeſting among the reſt of the philoſophers, told them, he had ſomething extraordinary, likewiſe, to prognoſticate. Being intreated to make it known, "I foreſee," ſaid he, "that in a ſhort time there will be a quarrel "betwen Dionyſius and Plato." Soon after this, Dionyſius ſold Dion's eſtate, and converted the money to his own uſe. Plato was removed from his apartment in the palace-gardens, and placed within the purlieus of the guards, who had long hated, and even ſought to kill him; on a ſuppoſition that he adviſed the tyrant to lay down his government, and diſband his army.

Archytas, who had engaged for Plato's ſafety, when he underſtood his danger, ſent a galley to demand him; and the tyrant, to palliate his enmity, previous to his departure made pompous entertainments. At one of them, however, he could not help ſaying, "I ſuppoſe, Plato, when you return to your "companions in the academy, my faults will often "be the ſubject of your converſation." 'I hope,' anſwered Plato, 'we ſhall never be ſo much at a 'loſs for ſubjects in the academy, as to talk of 'you.' Such are the circumſtances which have been mentioned concerning Plato's departure; but they are not perfectly conſiſtent with Plato's own account.

Dion being offended, not only with theſe things, but with ſome intelligence he had before received concerning his wife, which is alluded to in Plato's letter to Dionyſius, openly declared himſelf his enemy. The occaſion was this: Plato, on his return to Greece, was deſired by Dionyſius privately to conſult Dion, whether he would be averſe to his wife's marrying another man; for there was a report, whether true,

or the invention of his enemies, that his matrimonial ſtate was not agreeable to him, and that there was a coolneſs betwixt him and Arete. After Plato had conſulted Dion on the affair, he wrote to Dionyſius; and, though he ſpoke in plain terms of other matters, he mentioned this in a manner that could only be intelligible to the king. He told him, that he had talked with Dion on the buſineſs, and that he would certainly reſent it if ſuch an attempt were made.

While any proſpect of an accommodation remained, Dionyſius took no further ſteps in the affair; but when that proſpect was gone, and Plato once more had left Sicily in diſpleaſure, he compelled Arete to marry Timocrates; and in this inſtance he fell ſhort even of the juſtice and lenity of his father. When Philoxenus, who had married his ſiſter Theſte, was declared his enemy, and fled through fear out of Sicily, Dionyſius ſent for his ſiſter, and reproached her with being privy to her huſband's eſcape, without letting him know it. Theſte anſwered, without fear or heſitation, "Do "you think me, Dionyſius, ſo bad a wife, or ſo "weak a woman, that if I had known of my huſ-"band's flight, I would not have accompanied him, "and have ſhared in the worſt of his fortunes? In-"deed I was ignorant of it: and I aſſure you, that "I ſhould eſteem it a higher honour to be called "the wife of Philoxenus the Exile, than the ſiſter "of Dionyſius the Tyrant." The king, it is ſaid, admired her ſpirited anſwer; and the Syracuſans honoured her ſo much, that ſhe retained her princely retinue after the diſſolution of the tyranny; and the citizens, by public decree, attended the ſolemnity of her funeral. This is a digreſſion, but it may have its uſe.

Dion now thought of nothing but war: Plato, however, was againſt it; partly on account of the hoſpitable favours he had received from Dionyſius,

and

and partly becauſe of the advanced age of Dion. Speuſippus, and the reſt of his friends, on the other hand, encouraged him to reſcue from ſlavery his native Sicily, that ſtretched forth her hands towards him, and would certainly receive him with every expreſſion of joy. Speuſippus, when he attended Plato into Sicily, had mixed more with the people, and learnt their ſentiments with regard to the government. At firſt, indeed, they were reſerved, and ſuſpected him for an emiſſary of the tyrant's; but by degrees, he obtained their confidence. In ſhort, it was the voice, the prayer of the people, that Dion would come, though without either army or navy, to their relief, and lend them only his name and his preſence againſt the tyrant. Dion was encouraged by theſe repreſentations; and, the more effectually to conceal his intentions, he raiſed what forces he was able by means of his friends. He was aſſiſted in this by many ſtateſmen and philoſophers; amongſt whom was Endemus, the Cyprian (on occaſion of whoſe death Ariſtotle wrote his dialogue on the ſoul) and Timonides, the Leucadian. Theſe engaged in his intereſt Miltas the Theſſalian, who was ſkilled in divination, and had been his fellow-academician. But of all thoſe whom the tyrant had baniſhed, which were no fewer than a thouſand, no more than twenty-five gave in their names for the ſervice; the reſt, for want of ſpirit, would not engage in the cauſe. The general rendezvous was in the iſland of Zacynthus; and here, when the little army was aſſembled, it did not amount to eight hundred men*: but they were men who had ſignalized themſelves in the greateſt engagements; they were in perfect diſcipline, and inured to hardſhip; in courage and conduct they had no ſuperiors in the army: in ſhort, they were ſuch men as were likely to ſerve the cauſe

* Diodorus enlarges with great propriety on the extraordinary ſpirit and ſucceſs of this enterprize. L. xvi.

of Dion, in animating, by their example, thoſe who came to his ſtandard in Sicily.

Yet theſe men, when they underſtood that they were to be led againſt Dionyſius, were diſheartened, and condemned the raſh reſentment of Dion; the conſeqence of which they looked upon as certain ruin. Nor were they leſs offended with their commanders, and thoſe who had enliſted them, becauſe they had concealed the deſign of the ſervice. But when Dion, in a public ſpeech, after ſhewing them the feeble ſtate of Dionyſius's government, told them, that he conſidered them rather as ſo many officers whom he carried to head the people of Sicily, already prepared to revolt, than as private men;—and when Alcimenes, who, in birth and reputation, was the principal man in Achaia, had concurred in the addreſs of Dion, and joined in the expedition, they then were ſatisfied.

It was now about midſummer; the Eteſian winds* prevailed at ſea, and the moon was at the full, when Dion prepared a magnificent ſacrifice to Apollo, and marched in proceſſion to the temple, with his men under arms. After the ſacrifice, he gave them a feaſt in the race-ground of the Zacynthians. They were aſtoniſhed at the quantity of gold and ſilver plate that was exhibited on this occaſion, ſo far above the ordinary fortunes of a private man; and they concluded, that a perſon of ſuch opulence would not

* Theſe winds blew regularly at a certain ſeaſon of the year. Strabo ſometimes calls them the eaſt, and ſometimes north winds; but to convey Dion from Zacynthus to Pachynus, they muſt have blown from the eaſt. Pliny makes the Eteſian winds the ſame as the north-eaſt wind. *Aquilo in æſtate media mutat nomen, et Eteſias vocatur.* Hiſt. Nat. l. xviii. c. 34. He tells us, when the winds begin, xvii. *Calend. Auguſti, Egypto aquilo occidit matutino, Eteſiarumque Prodromi Flatus incipiunt*, ibid. l. xviii. c. 28. And when they end: *Decimo Sexto Calend. Octob. Ægypto Spica, quam tenet virgo, exoritur matutino, Eteſiæ que deſinunt* ib. l. xviii. cap. 31. Thus it ſeems, that they laſt about two months (Pliny in another place ſays forty days, l. ii. chap. 47.); and the relief of ſuch gales in that ſeaſon is plainly providential. Ariſtotle accounts for them from the convexity of the earth.

at a late period of life, expoſe himſelf to dangers, without a fair proſpect of ſucceſs, and the certain ſupport of friends. After the uſual prayers and libations, the moon was eclipſed. This was nothing ſtrange to Dion, who knew the variations of the ecliptic; and that this defection of the moon's light was cauſed by the interpoſition of the earth between her and the ſun. But as the ſoldiers were troubled about it, Miltas, the diviner, took upon him to give it a proper turn, and aſſured them, that it portended the ſudden obſcurity of ſomething that was at preſent glorious; that this glorious object could be no other than Dionyſius, whoſe luſtre would be extinguiſhed on their arrival in Sicily. This interpretation he communicated in as public a manner as poſſible; but from the prodigy of the bees*, a ſwarm of which ſettled on the ſtern of Dion's ſhip, he intimated to his friends his apprehenſions that the great affairs which Dion was then proſecuting, after flouriſhing a while would come to nothing. Dionyſius too, they ſaid, had many prodigies on this occaſion. An eagle ſnatched a javelin from one of his guards, and after flying aloft with it, dropt it in the ſea. The waters of the ſea, at the foot of the citadel, were freſh for one whole day, as plainly appeared to every one that taſted them. He had pigs farrowed perfect in all their other parts, but without ears. The diviners interpreted this an omen of rebellion and revolt; the people, they ſaid, would no longer give ear to the mandates of the tyrant. The freſhneſs of the ſea-water imported, that the Syracuſans, after their harſh and ſevere treatment, would enjoy milder and better times. The eagle was the miniſter of Jove; and the javelin an enſign of power and government: thus the father of the gods had deſtined the overthrow and abolition of the tyranny. Theſe things we have from Theopompus.

* This ſuperſtition prevailed no leſs amongſt the Romans than amongſt the Greeks. See the life of Brutus.

Dion's ſoldiers were conveyed in two tranſports. Theſe were accompanied by another ſmaller veſſel, and two more of thirty oars. Beſide the arms of thoſe who attended him, he took with him two thouſand ſhields, a large quantity of darts and javelins, and a conſiderable ſupply of proviſions, that nothing might be wanting in the expedition; for they put off to the main ſea, becauſe they did not think it ſafe to coaſt it along, being informed that Philiſtus was ſtationed off Japygia to watch their motions. Having ſailed with a gentle wind about twelve days, on the thirteenth they arrived at Pachynus, a promontory in Sicily. There the pilot adviſed Dion to land his men immediately; for if they once doubled the cape, they might continue at ſea a long time before they could have a gale from the ſouth at that ſeaſon of the year. But Dion, who was afraid of making a deſcent too near the enemy, and choſe rather to make good his landing in ſome remoter part of the iſland, doubled the cape notwithſtanding. They had not ſailed far before a ſtrong gale from the north and a high ſea drove them quite off Sicily. At the ſame time there was a violent ſtorm of thunder and lightning; for it was about the riſing of Arcturus; and it was accompanied with ſuch dreadful rains, and the weather, in every reſpect, ſo tempeſtuous, that the affrighted ſailors knew not where they were, till they found themſelves driven by the violence of the ſtorm to Cercina, on the coaſt of Africa. This craggy iſland was ſurrounded with ſuch dangerous rocks, that they narrowly eſcaped being daſhed to pieces; but by working hard with their poles they kept clear, with much difficulty, till the ſtorm abated. They were then informed by a veſſel, which accidentally came up with them, that they were at the head of what is called the Great Syrtis *. In this horrible ſituation they were farther diſheartened by finding themſelves becalmed; but,

* Not far from Tripoly.

after

after beating about for ſome time, a gale ſprung up ſuddenly from the ſouth. On this unexpected change, as the wind encreaſed upon them, they made all their ſail, and, imploring the aſſiſtance of the gods, once more put off to ſea in queſt of Sicily. After an eaſy paſſage of five days, they arrived at Minoa, a ſmall town in Sicily *, belonging to the Carthaginians. Synalus †, a friend of Dion's, was then governor of the place, and as he knew not that this little fleet belonged to Dion, he attempted to prevent the landing of his men: the ſoldiers leapt out of the veſſels in arms, but killed none that oppoſed them; for Dion, on account of his friendſhip with Synalus, had forbidden them. However, they ran in one body with the fugitives into the town, and thus made themſelves maſters of it. When Dion and the governor met, mutual ſalutations paſſed between them; and the former reſtored him his town unhurt. Synalus, in return, entertained his ſoldiers, and ſupplied him with neceſſaries.

It happened that Dionyſius, a little before this, had ſailed with eighty ſhips for Italy, and this abſence of his gave them no ſmall encouragement; inſomuch that when Dion invited his men to refreſh themſelves for ſome time after their fatigues at ſea, they thought of nothing but making proper uſe of the preſent moment, and called upon him, with one voice, to lead them to Syracuſe; he, therefore, left his uſeleſs arms and baggage with Synalus, and having engaged him to tranſmit them to him at a proper opportunity, marched for Syracuſe. Two hundred of the Agrigentine cavalry, who inhabited the country about Ecnomus, immediately revolted, and joined him in his march, and theſe were followed by the inhabitants of Gela.

The news of his arrival ſoon reaching Syracuſe, Timocrates, who had married Dion's wife, and was

* On the South Coaſt. † Diodorus calls him Pyralus.

appointed regent in the abſence of Dionyſius, immediately diſpatched letters to acquaint him with the event. In the mean time he applied himſelf to prevent all tumults in the city; for the people were greatly animated on the report of Dion's arrival, though the uncertainty they were under as yet kept them quiet. A ſingular accident happened to the courier who was diſpatched with letters for Dionyſius: As he was paſſing through the territory of Rhegium to Caulonia, where the tyrant then was, he met an acquaintance of his returning home with a newly offered ſacrifice; and having taken a little of the fleſh for his own uſe*, he made the beſt of his way. At night, however, he found it neceſſary to take a little reſt, and retired to ſleep in a wood by the ſide of the road. A wolf, allured by the ſmell of the fleſh, came up while he was aſleep, and carried it off, together with the bag of letters to which it was faſtened. When the courier awaked, he ſought a long time to no purpoſe for his diſpatches; and being determined not to face Dionyſius without them, he abſconded. Thus it was a conſiderable time after, and from other hands, that Dionyſius was informed of Dion's arrival in Sicily.

Dion, in his march, was joined by the Camarinaeans, and many revolters from the territory of Syracuſe. The Leontines and the Campanians, who, with Timocrates, guarded the Epipolae, being miſled by a report deſignedly propagated by Dion, that he intended to attack their cities firſt, quitted their preſent ſtation, and went to take care of their own concerns. Dion being informed of this, while he lay near Acræ, decamped in the night, and came to the river Anapus, which is at the diſtance of ten furlongs from the city. There he halted, and ſacrificed by the river, addreſſing his prayers to the riſing ſun. The diviners informed him that the gods gave a pro-

* To carry home part of the victim, and to give part of it to any perſon that the bearer met, were acts of religion.

miſe

miſe of victory; and as he had himſelf aſſumed a garland at the ſacrifice, all that were preſent immediately did the ſame. He was now joined by about five thouſand, who were, indeed, ill furniſhed with arms; but their courage ſupplied that deficiency *. When he gave orders to march, *Liberty* was the word; and they ruſhed forward with the higheſt acclamations of joy. The moſt conſiderable citizens of Syracuſe, dreſſed all in white, met him at the gates. The populace fell with great fury on Dionyſius's party; but in particular they ſeized his ſpies, a ſet of wretches hated by gods and men; who went about the city to collect the ſentiments of the inhabitants, in order to communicate them to the tyrant. Theſe were the firſt that ſuffered, being knocked down wherever they were met. When Timocrates found that he could not join the garriſon in the citadel, he fled on horſeback out of the city, and ſpread a general terror and diſmay where he paſſed; magnifying all the while the forces of Dion, that it might not appear a ſlight effort, againſt which he was unable to defend the place.

Dion now made his public entry into the town: he was dreſſed in a magnificent ſuit of armour, his brother Megacles marching on the right hand, and Callippus the Athenian on the left, with garlands on their heads. He was followed by an hundred foreign ſoldiers, who were his body-guard; and after theſe marched the reſt of the army in proper order, under the conduct of their reſpective officers. The Syracuſans looked upon this proceſſion as ſacred. They conſidered it as the triumphal entry of Liberty, which would once more eſtabliſh the popular government, after a ſuppreſſion of forty-eight years.

When Dion entered at the Menitidian gate, ſilence was commanded by ſound of trumpet, and he ordered

* Diodorus ſays he was ſoon joined by 20,000; and that when he reached Syracuſe, he had not fewer than 50,000.

freedom

freedom to be proclaimed to the Syracuſans and the reſt of the Sicilians, in the name of Dion and Megacles, who came to aboliſh tyranny. Being deſirous to addreſs the people in a ſpeech, he marched up to the Acradina. As he paſſed through the ſtreets, the people prepared their victims on tables placed before their doors; ſcattered flowers on his head, and offered up their prayers to him as to their tutelar deity. At the foot of the citadel, under the pentapylae, there was a lofty ſun-dial*, which had been placed there by Dionyſius. From the eminence of this building he addreſſed the citizens, and exhorted them earneſtly to aſſert their liberties. The people, in their return, nominated Dion and his brother prætors of the city; and at their requeſt, appointed them twenty colleagues, half of whom were of thoſe who returned with Dion from exile.

At firſt it was conſidered by the ſoothſayers as a good omen, that Dion, when he addreſſed the people, had under his feet the ſtately edifice which Dionyſius had erected; but upon reflection that this edifice, on which he had been declared general, was a ſun-dial, they were apprehenſive that his preſent power and grandeur might be ſubject to decline.

Dion, in the next place, took the caſtle of Epipolæ, releaſed the priſoners who were confined there, and inveſted it with a ſtrong wall. Seven days after this event, Dionyſius arrived from Italy, and entered the citadel from the ſea. Dion at the ſame time received from Synalus the arms and ammunition he had left with him. Theſe he diſtributed amongſt the citizens, as far as they would go; the reſt armed themſelves as well as they were able; and all expreſſed the utmoſt alacrity for the ſervice. Dionyſius, at firſt, ſent agents in a private manner to Dion, to try what terms might be made with them. Dion

* Pherecydes was the firſt who invented dials to mark the hour of the day, about three hundred years after the time of Homer. But before his time the Phoenicians had contrived a dial in the iſle of Scyros, which deſcribed the ſolſtices.

refuſed

refuſed to hear any overtures in private. The Syracuſans, he told them, were now a free people; and what they had to offer muſt be addreſſed to them in public. Upon this they made ſpecious propoſals to the citizens, promiſed them an abatement of their taxes, and an exemption from ſerving in the wars, even though thoſe wars ſhould be undertaken by their own approbation. The Syracuſans held theſe propoſals in deriſion; and Dion anſwered, that it would be in vain for Dionyſius to ſpeak of terms, without reſigning, in the firſt place, the regal government; and that if he took this meaſure, he might depend on all the good offices ſo near a relation might be inclined to do him; at leaſt in every thing that was juſt and reaſonable. Dionyſius ſeemed to conſent to theſe terms; and again ſent his agents to deſire that a deputation of the Syracuſans would attend them in the citadel, in order to ſettle articles for the public tranquility. He aſſured them that he had ſuch to offer them as they could not but accept; and that, on the other hand, he was equally willing to come into ſuch as they had to offer him. Dion, therefore, ſelected a number of the citizens for this deputation; and the general report from the citadel was, that Dionyſius would reſign his authority in a voluntary manner.

This, however, was no more than a ſtratagem to amuſe the Syracuſans. The deputies no ſooner arrived than they were impriſoned; and early next morning, after he had plied the mercenaries with wine, he ordered them to ſally out and attack the wall which had been built by Dion. This unexpected aſſault was carried on with great vigour by the barbarians. They broke through the works, and falling with great impetuoſity and loud ſhouts on the Syracuſans, ſoon put them to flight. Dion's foreign troops took the alarm, and haſtened to their relief; but the precipitate flight of the citizens diſordered their ranks, and rendered it difficult for them

them to give any effectual aſſiſtance. Dion perceiving, that in this tumult his orders could not be heard, inſtructed them by his example, and charged the thickeſt of the enemy. The battle, where he fought in perſon, was fierce and bloody. He was known to the enemy as well as to his own party; and they ruſhed with the utmoſt violence to the quarter where he fought. His age, indeed, rendered him unfit for ſuch an engagement, but he maintained the fight with great vigour, and cut in pieces many of the enemy that attacked him. At length he was wounded in the hand with a lance; his ſhield was pierced through in many places with the darts and ſpears that were levelled againſt him; and his armour no longer reſiſting the blows he received in this cloſe engagement, he fell to the ground. He was immediately carried off by his ſoldiers; and leaving the command to Timonides, he rode about the city to rally the fugitives. Soon after he brought a detachment of foreign ſoldiers, which he had left to guard the Acradina, as a freſh reſerve againſt the enemy. This, however, was unneceſſary: they had placed their whole hopes of retaking the city in their firſt ſally; and finding ſo powerful a reſiſtance, fatigued with the action, they retreated into the citadel. As ſoon as they began to fall back, the Greek ſoldiers bore hard upon them, and purſued them to the walls. Dion loſt ſeventy-four men; and a very great number of the enemy fell in this action. The victory was ſo important, that the Syracuſans rewarded each of the foreign ſoldiers with a hundred minæ; and Dion was preſented by his army with a crown of gold.

Soon after this, meſſengers came from Dionyſius with letters to Dion from the women of his family. Beſide theſe, there was one inſcribed "Hipparinus "to his father Dion." For this was the name of Dion's ſon. Timæus ſays, indeed, that he was called Aretæus, from his mother Arete; but I think credit is rather to be given to Timonides, who was his friend

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and fellow-ſoldier. The reſt of the letters, which were read openly before the Syracuſans, contained various ſolicitations and intreaties from the women. The letter which appeared to come from Hipparinus, the people, out of reſpect to the father, would not have ſuffered to be opened in public; but Dion inſiſted that it ſhould be ſo. It proved to be a letter from Dionyſius himſelf, directed indeed to Dion, but in reality addreſſed to the people of Syracuſe; for though it carried the air of requeſt and apology, it had an obvious tendency to render Dion obnoxious to the citizens. He reminded him of the zeal he had formerly ſhewn for his ſervice; he threatened him through his deareſt connexions, his ſiſter, his ſon, and his wife; and his menaces were followed by the moſt paſſionate intreaties, and the moſt abject lamentations. But the moſt trying part of his addreſs was, that where he intreated Dion not to deſtroy the government, and give that freedom to his inveterate enemies, by means of which they would proſecute him to death, but to retain the regal power himſelf, for the protection of his family and friends.

This letter did not produce thoſe ſentiments in the people which it ſhould naturally have done. Inſtead of exciting admiration of that noble firmneſs and magnanimity, which could prefer the public utility to the tendereſt private connections, it occaſioned jealouſies and fears. The people ſaw, or thought they ſaw, that Dion was under an abſolute neceſſity of being favourable to Dionyſius. They already began to wiſh for another general; and it was with peculiar ſatisfaction they heard of the arrival of Heraclides. This Heraclides, who had been baniſhed by the tyrant, had once a diſtinguiſhed command in the army, and was a man of conſiderable military abilities, but irreſolute, inconſtant, and particularly unſteady when he had a colleague in command. He had, ſome time before, had a difference with Dion in Peloponneſus, and therefore reſolved on his

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own ſtrength to make war on Dionyſius. When he arrived at Syracuſe, he found the tyrant cloſe beſieged, and the Syracuſans elated with their ſucceſs. His firſt object, therefore, was to court the people; and for this purpoſe he had all the neceſſary talents; an inſinuating addreſs, and that kind of flattery which is ſo grateful to the multitude. This buſineſs was the more eaſy to him, as the forbidden gravity of Dion was thought too haughty for a popular ſtate: beſides, the Syracuſans, already inſolent with ſucceſs, aſſumed the ſpirit of a free people, though they had not, in reality, obtained their freedom. Thus they convened themſelves without any ſummons, and appointed Heraclides their admiral: indeed, when Dion remonſtrated againſt that proceeding, and ſhewed them that by thus conſtituting Heraclides admiral, they ſuperſeded the office of general, which they had before conferred on him, with ſome reluctance they deprived Heraclides of the commiſſion they had given him. When this affair was ſettled, Dion invited Heraclides to his houſe, and gently expoſtulated with him on the impropriety of attending to a punctilio of honour at a time when the leaſt inattention to the common cauſe might be the ruin of the whole. He then called an aſſembly, appointed Heraclides admiral, and prevailed with the citizens to allow him ſuch a guard as they had before granted to himſelf. Heraclides treated Dion with all the appearance of reſpect, acknowledged his obligations to him, and ſeemed attentive to his commands; but in private he corrupted the people, and encouraged a ſpirit of mutiny and diſſatisfaction; ſo that Dion was involved in continual diſturbances and diſquiet. If he adviſed that Dionyſius ſhould be permitted to make his retreat in ſafety, he was cenſured as deſigning to favour and protect him; if, to avoid thoſe ſuſpicions, he was for continuing the ſiege, he was accuſed of protracting the war, that he might the

longer

longer retain his command, and keep the citizens in ſubjection.

There was in the city one Soſis, infamous for his inſolence and villany, who thought the perfection of liberty was the licentiouſneſs of ſpeech. This fellow openly attacked Dion, and told the people, in public aſſembly, that they had only changed the inattention of a drunken and diſſolute tyrant, for the crafty vigilance of a ſober maſter. Immediately after this, he left the aſſembly, and next day was ſeen running naked through the ſtreets, as if from ſomebody that purſued him, with his head and face covered with blood. In this condition he ran into the market-place, and told the people that he had been aſſaulted by Dion's foreign ſoldiers; at the ſame time ſhewing them a wound in his head, which, he ſaid, they had given him. Dion, upon this, was generally condemned, and accuſed of ſilencing the people by ſanguinary methods; he came, however, before this irregular and tumultuous aſſembly, in his own vindication, and made it appear that this Soſis was brother to one of Dionyſius's guards, and that he had been engaged by him to raiſe a tumult in the city; the only reſource the tyrant had now left being that of exciting diſſentions among the people. The ſurgeons alſo, who examined the wound, found that it was not occaſioned by any violent blow. The wounds made by weapons are generally deepeſt in the middle; but this was both ſuperficial, and of an equal depth from one end to the other; beſides, being diſcontinuous, it did not appear to be the effect of one inciſion, but to have been made at different times, probably as he was beſt able to endure the pain. At the ſame time there were ſome who depoſed, that having ſeen Soſis running naked and wounded, and being informed by him that he was flying from the purſuit of Dion's foreign ſoldiers, who had juſt then wounded him, they haſtened to take the purſuers; that, however, they could meet with no ſuch perſons,

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but found a razor lying under a hollow ſtone near the place from whence they had obſerved him come. All theſe circumſtances made ſtrongly againſt him: but when his own ſervants gave evidence that he went out of his houſe alone before day-light, with a razor in his hand, Dion's accuſers withdrew. The people, by a general vote, condemned Soſis to die, and were once more reconciled to Dion.

Nevertheleſs their jealouſy of his ſoldiers remained; and, as the war was now principally carried on by ſea, Philiſtus being come to the ſupport of Dionyſius, with a conſiderable fleet from Japygia, they did not ſee the neceſſity of retaining in their ſervice thoſe Greeks who were no ſeamen, and muſt depend for protection on the naval force. Their confidence in their own ſtrength was likewiſe greatly increaſed by an advantage they had gained at ſea againſt Philiſtus, whom they uſed in a very barbarous manner. Ephorus relates, that, after his ſhip was taken, he ſlew himſelf. But Timonides, who attended Dion from the beginning of the war, writing to Speuſippus the philoſopher, gives the ſtory thus: Philiſtus's galley having run aground, he was taken priſoner alive; and after being diſarmed and ſtripped, was expoſed naked, though an old man, to every kind of inſult. They afterwards cut off his head, and ordered his children to drag his body through the Acradina, and throw it into the quarry. Timaeus repreſents the indignity offered his remains to be ſtill greater: The boys, he ſays, tied a rope about his lame leg, and ſo dragged him through the city, the Syracuſans, in the mean while inſulting over his carcaſe, when they ſaw *him* tied by the leg who had ſaid, *It would ill become Dionyſius to fly from his throne by the ſwiftneſs of his horſe, which he ought never to quit till he was dragged from it by the heels.* Philiſtus, however, tells us, that this was not ſaid to Dionyſius by himſelf, but by another. It is plain, at the ſame time, that Timaeus takes every occaſion, from Philiſtus's

liſtus's known adherence to arbitrary power, to load him with the keeneſt reproaches. Thoſe whom he injured are in ſome degree excuſable, if, in their reſentment, they treated him with indignities after death. But wherefore ſhould his biographers, whom he never injured, and who have had the benefit of his works; wherefore ſhould they exhibit him, with all the exaggerations of ſcurrility, in thoſe ſcenes of diſtreſs which fortune ſometimes reduces the beſt of men? On the other hand, Ephorus is no leſs extravagant in his encomiums on Philiſtus. He knows well how to throw into ſhades the foibles of the human character, and to give an air of plauſibility to the moſt indefenſible conduct; but, with all his elegance, with all his art, he cannot reſcue Philiſtus from the imputation of being the moſt ſtrenuous aſſertor of arbitrary power, of being the fondeſt follower and admirer of the luxury, the magnificence, the alliance of tyrants. Upon the whole, he who neither defends the principles of Philiſtus, nor inſults over his misfortunes, will beſt diſcharge the duty of the hiſtorian.

After the death of Philiſtus, Dionyſius offered to ſurrender the citadel to Dion, together with the arms, proviſions, and ſoldiers, and an advance of five months pay, on condition that he might be permitted to retire into Italy, and there enjoy the revenues of Gyata, a fruitful tract of country in the territory of Syracuſe, reaching from the ſea to the middle of the country. Dion refuſing to negociate on his own account, referred the ambaſſadors to the Syracuſans; and as they expected that Dionyſius would ſhortly come alive into their hands, they were diſmiſſed without audience. Upon this, the tyrant, leaving his eldeſt ſon Apollocrates to defend the citadel, embarked with his moſt valuable treaſures, and a few ſelect friends, and, ſailing with a fair wind, eſcaped Heraclides the admiral.

The tyrant's eſcape greatly exaſperated the people

againſt Heraclides; and, in order to appeaſe them, he propoſed by Hippo, one of the orators, that there ſhould be an equal diviſion of lands; alleging, that equality was the firſt foundation of civil liberty, and that poverty and ſlavery were ſynonimous terms. At the ſame time that he ſupported Hippo in the promotion of this ſcheme, he encouraged the faction againſt Dion, who oppoſed it. At length he prevailed with the people not only to paſs this law, but to make a decree that the pay of the foreign ſoldiers ſhould be ſtopped, and new commanders choſen, that they might no longer be ſubject to the ſevere diſcipline of Dion. Thus, like the patient, who, after a lingering ſickneſs, makes too raſh a uſe of the firſt returns of health, and rejects the ſober and gradual regimen of his phyſician, the citizens, who had long laboured under the yoke of ſlavery, took too precipitate ſteps to freedom, and refuſed the ſalutary counſels and conduct of their deliverer.

It was about the midſt of ſummer when the aſſembly was ſummoned for the election of new officers; and, for the ſpace of fifteen days, there were the moſt dreadful thunders, and the moſt alarming prodigies. The religious fears that theſe prodigies excited, made the people decline the chuſing of officers. When the weather grew more ſerene, the orators again exhorted them to proceed to the buſineſs; but no ſooner had they begun, than a draught-ox, which had neither received any provocation from the driver, nor could be terrified by the crowds and noiſe to which he had been accuſtomed, ſuddenly broke from his yoke, and running furiouſly into the aſſembly, drove the people in great diſorder before him: from thence, throwing down all that ſtood in his way, he ran over that part of the city which afterwards fell into the enemy's hands. The Syracuſans, however, regardleſs of theſe things, elected five-and-twenty officers, among whom was Heraclides. At the ſame time they privately endeavoured to draw off

Dion's

Dion's men; promiſing, if they would deſert him, to make them citizens of Syracuſe. But the ſoldiers were faithful to their general, and placing him in the middle of a battalion, marched out of the city. They did not, on this occaſion, offer any violence to the inhabitants, but they ſeverely reproached them for their baſeneſs and ingratitude. The ſmallneſs of their number, and their declining to act offenſively, put the citizens on the view of cutting them off before they eſcaped out of the city; and with this deſign they fell upon their rear. Dion was here in a great dilemma; he was under the neceſſity either of fighting againſt his countrymen, or of ſuffering himſelf and his faithful ſoldiers to be cut in pieces. He therefore intreated the Syracuſans to deſiſt: he ſtretched forth his hands to them, and pointed to the citadel full of ſoldiers, who were happy in being ſpectators of theſe diſſentions amongſt their enemies. But the torrent of the populace, agitated and driven forwards by the ſeditious breath of the orators, was not to be ſtopped by perſuaſion. He, therefore, commanded his men to advance with ſhouts and claſhing of arms, but not to attack them. The Syracuſans, upon this, fled immediately through the ſtreets, though no one purſued them; for Dion retreated with his men into the territories of the Leontines.

The very women laughed at the new officers for this cowardly flight; and the latter, to recover their reputation, ordered the citizens to arms, purſued Dion, and came up with him as he was paſſing a river. A ſkirmiſh began between the cavalry; but when they found Dion no longer diſpoſed to bear theſe indignities with his uſual paternal patience; when they obſerved him drawing up his men for battle, with all the eagerneſs of ſtrong reſentment, they once more turned their backs, and, with the loſs of ſome few men, fled to the city in a more diſgraceful and more cowardly manner than before.

The Leontines received Dion in a very honourable manner, gave money to his ſoldiers, and made them free of their city. They alſo ſent meſſengers to Syracuſe, with requiſitions that his men might have juſtice done them, and receive their pay. The Syracuſans, in return, ſent other meſſengers, with impeachments againſt Dion; but when the matter was debated at Leontium, in full aſſembly of the allies, they evidently appeared to be in fault. They refuſed, nevertheleſs, to ſtand to the award of this aſſembly; for the recent recovery of their liberties had made them inſolent, and the popular power was without controul; their very commanders being no more than ſervile dependents on the multitude.

About this time Dionyſius ſent a fleet under Nypſius, the Neopolitan, with proviſions and pay for the garriſon in the citadel. The Syracuſans overcame him, and took four of his ſhips; but they made an ill uſe of their ſucceſs. Deſtitute of all diſcipline, they celebrated the victory with the moſt riotous extravagance, and at a time when they thought themſelves ſecure of taking the citadel, they loſt the city. Nypſius obſerving their diſorder, their night-revels, and debauches, in which their commanders, either from inclination, or through fear of offending them, were as deeply engaged as themſelves, took advantage of this opportunity, broke through their walls, and expoſed the city to the violence and depredation of his ſoldiers.

The Syracuſans at once perceived their folly and their misfortune: but the latter, in their preſent confuſion, was not eaſy to be redreſſed. The ſoldiers made dreadful havock in the city; they demoliſhed the fortifications, put the men to the ſword, and dragged the women and children ſhrieking to the citadel. The Syracuſan officers being unable to ſeparate the citizens from the enemy, or to draw them up in any order, gave up all for loſt. In this ſituation, while the Acradina itſelf was in danger of being taken, they naturally

naturally turned their thoughts on Dion; but none had the courage to mention a man whom all had injured. In this emergency a voice was heard from the cavalry of the allies, crying, "Send for Dion "and his Peloponnesians from Leontium." His name was no sooner mentioned than the people shouted for joy. With tears they implored that he might once more be at their head: they remembered his intrepidity in the most trying dangers; they remembered the courage that he shewed himself, and the confidence with which he inspired them when he led them against the enemy. Archonides and Telesides from the auxiliaries, and Hellanicus, with four more from the cavalry, were immediately dispatched to Leontium, where, making the best of their way, they arrived in the close of the evening. They instantly threw themselves at the feet of Dion, and related, with tears, the deplorable condition of the Syracusans. The Leontines and Peloponnesians soon gathered about them, conjecturing from their haste, and the manner of their address, that their business had something extraordinary in it.

Dion immediately summoned an assembly; and the people being soon collected, Archonides and Hellanicus briefly related the distress of the Syracusans, intreated the foreign soldiers to forget the injuries they had done them, and once more to assist that unfortunate people, who had already suffered more for their ingratitude, than even they whom they had injured would have inflicted upon them. When they had thus spoken, a profound silence ensued; upon which Dion arose, and attempted to speak, but was prevented by his tears. His soldiers, who were greatly affected with their general's sorrow, intreated him to moderate his grief, and proceed. After he had recovered himself a little, he spoke to the following purpose: "Peloponnesians and con-"federates, I have called you together, that you may "consult on your respective affairs. My measures are

" taken: I cannot hesitate what to do when Syracuse " is perishing: if I cannot save it, I will, at least, " hasten thither, and fall beneath the ruins of my " country. For you, if you can yet persuade your- " selves to assist the most unfortunate and inconside- " rate of men, it may be in your power to save from " destruction a city which was the work of your own " hands *. But if your pity for the Syracusans be " sacrificed to your resentment, may the gods reward " your fidelity, your kindness to Dion! And re- " member, that as he would not desert *you* when " you were injured, so neither could he abandon " his falling country!"

He had hardly ended, when the soldiers signified their readiness for the service by loud acclamations, and called upon him to march directly to the relief of Syracuse. The messengers embraced them, and intreated the gods to shower their blessings on Dion and the Peloponnesians. When the noise subsided, Dion gave orders that the men should repair to their quarters, and, after the necessary refreshments, assemble in the same place completely armed; for he intended to march that very night.

The soldiers of Dionysius, after ravaging the city during the whole day, retired at night, with the loss of a few men, into the citadel. This small respite once more encouraged the demagogues of the city, who, presuming that the enemy would not repeat their hostilities, dissuaded the people from admitting Dion and his foreign soldiers. They advised them not to give up the honour of saving the city to strangers, but to defend their liberty themselves. Upon this the generals sent other messengers to Dion to countermand his march, while, on the other hand, the cavalry, and many of the principal citizens, sent their requests that he would hasten it. Thus invited

* Strabo says, that Syracuse was built in the second year of the eleventh Olympiad, by Archias, one of the Heraclidae, who came from Corinth to Syracuse.

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one party, and rejected by another, he came forward but ſlowly; and, at night, the faction that oppoſed him ſet a guard upon the gates, to prevent his entering.

Nypſius now made a freſh ſally from the citadel, with ſtill greater numbers, and greater fury than before. After totally demoliſhing the remaining part of the fortification, he fell to ravaging the city. The ſlaughter was dreadful; men, women, and children, fell indiſcriminately by the ſword; for the object of the enemy was not ſo much plunder as deſtruction. Dionyſius deſpaired of regaining his loſt empire, and, in his mortal hatred of the Syracuſans, he determined to bury them in the ruins of their city. It was reſolved, therefore, that, before Dion's ſuccours could arrive, they ſhould deſtroy it the quickeſt way, by laying it in aſhes. Accordingly they ſet fire to thoſe parts that were at hand, by brands and torches; and to the remoter parts, by ſhooting flaming arrows. The citizens, in the utmoſt conſternation, fled everywhere before them. Thoſe who, to avoid the fire, had fled from their houſes, were put to the ſword in the ſtreets; and they who ſought for refuge in their houſes, were again driven out by the flames; many were burnt to death, and many periſhed beneath the ruins of the houſes.

This terrible diſtreſs, by univerſal conſent, opened the gates for Dion. After being informed that the enemy had retreated into the citadel, he had made no great haſte: But early in the morning ſome horſemen carried him the news of a freſh aſſault. Theſe were followed by ſome even of thoſe who had recently oppoſed his coming, but who now implored him to fly to their relief. As the conflagration and deſtruction increaſed, Heraclides diſpatched his brother, and after him his uncle Theodotes, to intreat the aſſiſtance of Dion; for they were now no longer in a capacity of oppoſing the enemy: he was wounded himſelf, and great part of the city was laid in aſhes.

When Dion received this news he was about ſixty furlongs from the city. After he had acquainted his ſoldiers with the dreadful exigency, and exhorted them to behave with reſolution, they no longer marched, but ran; and in their way they were met by numbers who intreated them, if poſſible, to go ſtill faſter. By the eager and vigorous ſpeed of the ſoldiers, Dion quickly arrived at the city, and, entering by the part called Hecatompedon, he ordered his light troops immediately to charge the enemy, that the Syracuſans might take courage at the ſight of them. In the mean while he drew up his heavy armed men, with ſuch of the citizens as had joined him, and divided them into ſeveral ſmall bodies, of greater depth than breadth, that he might intimidate the enemy, by attacking them in ſeveral quarters at once. He advanced to the engagement at the head of his men, amidſt a confuſed noiſe of ſhouts, plaudits, prayers, and vows, which the Syracuſans offered up for their deliverer, their tutelary deity, for ſo they termed him now; and his foreign ſoldiers they called their brethren and fellow-citizens. At this time, perhaps, there was not one wretch ſo ſelfiſhly fond of life, that he did not hold Dion's ſafety dearer than his own, or that of all his fellow-citizens,—while they ſaw him advancing firſt in the front of danger, through blood and fire, and over heaps of the ſlain!

There was, indeed, ſomething terrible in the appearance of the enemy, who, animated by rage and deſpair, had poſted themſelves in the ruins of the ramparts, ſo that it was extremely dangerous and difficult to approach them. But the apprehenſions of fire diſcouraged Dion's men the moſt, and diſtreſſed them in their march. They were ſurrounded by flames that raged on every ſide; and while they walked over burning ruins, through clouds of aſhes and ſmoke, they were every moment in danger of being buried beneath the fall of half-conſumed buildings.

ings. In all theſe difficulties they took infinite pains to keep cloſe together, and maintain their ranks. When they came up to the enemy, a few only could engage at a time, on account of the narrowneſs and inequality of the ground. They fought, however, with great bravery, and, encouraged by the acclamations of the citizens, at length they routed Nypſius; and moſt of his men eſcaped into the citadel, which was near at hand. Such of them as were diſperſed and could not get in, were purſued and put to the ſword. The preſent deplorable ſtate of the city afforded neither time nor propriety for that joy and thoſe congratulations which uſually follow victory. All were buſy in ſaving the remains of the conflagration; and, though they laboured hard during the whole night, it was with great difficulty the fire was extinguiſhed.

Not one orator of the popular faction durſt any longer remain in the city. By their flight, they at once confeſſed their guilt, and avoided puniſhment. Heraclides, however, and Theodotes, ſurrendered themſelves to Dion. They acknowledged their error, and intreated that he would not imitate them in the cruel treatment they had ſhewn him. They forgot not to add how much it would be for his honour, who was unequalled in other virtues, to reſtrain his reſentments; and, by forgiving the ungrateful, to teſtify that ſuperiority of ſpirit for which they had contended with him. His friends, however, adviſed him by no means to pardon theſe factious and invidious men, but to give them up to his ſoldiers, and to rid the commonwealth of the ambition of demagogues, no leſs deſtructive than that of tyrants. Dion, on the other hand, endeavoured to mitigate their reſentments.—"Other generals," ſaid he, "employ "themſelves chiefly in military ſtudies; but, by "being long converſant in the academy, I have "learnt to ſubdue my paſſions, and to reſtrain the "impulſes of enmity and anger. To prove that I

"have

"have really gained such a victory over myself, it is "not sufficient merely to be kind to men of virtue, "but to be indulgent and reconcileable to the injurious. If I have excelled Heraclides in military "and political abilities, I am resolved not to be "inferior to him in justice and clemency; since to "have the advantage in those is the first degree of "excellence. The honours of conquest are never "wholly our own; for though the conqueror may "stand unrivalled, fortune will claim her share in his "success. Heraclides may be treacherous, invidious, "and malicious; but must Dion, therefore, sully his "glories by the indulgence of resentment? The "laws, indeed, allow the revenge of an injury to be "more justifiable than the commission of it; but "both proceed originally from the infirmity of human nature. Besides, there is hardly any malignity so inveterate that it may not be overcome by "kindness, and softened by repeated favours."— Agreeably to these sentiments, Dion pardoned Heraclides, and dismissed him.

His first object was to repair the wall, which he had formerly erected around the citadel; and, for this purpose, he ordered each of the citizens to furnish a palisado, and bring it to the works. When they had done this, he sent them to their repose, and employed his own men the whole night in drawing a line of circumvallation around the citadel; which both the enemy and the citizens were astonished to find completed in the morning.

After the dead were buried, and the prisoners, to the amount of two thousand, ransomed, he summoned an assembly. Heraclides moved, that Dion should be declared commander in chief, both at sea and land. This motion was approved by the nobility, and the commons were desirous to confirm it; but the sailors and artificers opposed it in a tumultuous manner. They were unwilling that Heraclides should lose his command at sea; for, though they had no

good

good opinion of his principles, they knew that he would be more indulgent than Dion, and more ready to gratify their inclinations. Dion, therefore, gave up this point, and agreed that Heraclides ſhould continue admiral. But when the equal diſtribution of lands was moved for, he oppoſed it, and repealed all the decrees which had formerly paſſed on that meaſure; by which means he once more incurred the diſpleaſure of the people. Heraclides again made his advantage of this, and harangued the ſoldiers and ſailors at Meſſana, accuſing Dion of a deſign to make himſelf abſolute. At the ſame time he privately correſponded with Dionyſius, by means of Pharax, a Spartan. When the nobility got intelligence of this, there was a ſedition in the army; and the city was greatly diſtreſſed by want of proviſions. Dion was now at a loſs what meaſures to purſue; and all his friends condemned him for ſtrengthening the hands of ſo perverſe and invidious a wretch as Heraclides.

Pharax was encamped at Neopolis in the territory of Agrigentum; and Dion drew out the Syracuſans, but not with an intent to engage him, till he found a convenient opportunity. This gave Heraclides and his ſeamen an occaſion of exclaiming, that he delayed fighting only that he might the longer continue in command. He was forced to action, therefore, contrary to his inclinations, and was beaten. His loſs, indeed, was ſmall, and his defeat was owing more to a miſunderſtanding in his own army than to the ſuperior courage of the enemy: he, therefore, reſolved to renew the engagement, and, after animating and encouraging his men to redeem their loſt credit, he drew them up in form of battle. In the evening, however, he received intelligence that Heraclides was ſailing for Syracuſe, with an intent to poſſeſs himſelf of the city, and to ſhut him out. Upon this he made a draught of the braveſt and moſt active of the cavalry, and rode with ſuch expedition, that he reached

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the city by nine in the morning, after a march of ſeven hundred furlongs. Heraclides, though he made all the ſail he could, was too late; he therefore tacked about, and ſtood out to ſea. While he was undetermined what courſe to ſteer, he met Gaeſilus the Spartan, who informed him that he was ſent to command in chief in Sicily, as Gylippus had done before. Heraclides immediately accepted him, and boaſted to his allies that he had found in this Spartan an antidote to the power of Dion. At the ſame time he ſent a herald to Syracuſe, ordering the citizens to receive Gaeſilus for their general. Dion anſwered, that the Syracuſans had already a ſufficient number of generals; and that, if it were neceſſary for them to have a Spartan, he was himſelf a citizen of Sparta.

Gaeſilus having now no hopes of the command, waited upon Dion, and, by his mediation, reconciled him to Heraclides. This reconciliation was confirmed by the moſt ſolemn oaths; and Gaeſilus himſelf was guarantee of the treaty, and undertook to puniſh Heraclides, in caſe of any future breach of faith. The Syracuſans upon this diſcharged their navy, as they found no advantages from it equal to the expence of keeping it on foot, and to thoſe inconveniences it brought upon them, by being a continual ſource of ſeditions. At the ſame time they continued the ſiege, and inveſted the citadel with another wall. As the beſieged were cut off from further ſupplies, when proviſions failed, the ſoldiers began to mutiny; ſo that Apollocrates found himſelf under a neceſſity of coming to terms with Dion, and offered to deliver up the citadel to him, with all the arms and ſtores, on condition that he might have five gallies, and be permitted to retire in ſafety with his mother and ſiſters. Dion granted his requeſt, and with theſe he ſailed to Dionyſius. He was no ſooner under ſail, than the whole city of Syracuſe aſſembled to behold the joyful ſight. Their hearts were ſo full of this intereſting event, that they even expreſſed

their

their anger againſt thoſe who were abſent, and could not be witneſſes with what glory the ſun that day aroſe upon Syracuſe, delivered at laſt from the chains of ſlavery. As this flight of Dionyſius was one of the moſt memorable viciſſitudes of fortune that is recorded in hiſtory, and as no tyranny was ever more effectually eſtabliſhed than his, how great muſt their joy and their ſelf-complacency have been, after they had deſtroyed it by ſuch inconſiderable means!

When Apollocrates was gone, and Dion went to take poſſeſſion of the citadel, the women could not wait till he entered, but ran to meet him at the gate. Ariſtomache came firſt, leading Dion's ſon; and Arete followed her in tears, fearful and apprehenſive of meeting her huſband, after ſhe had been ſo long in the poſſeſſion of another. Dion firſt embraced his ſiſter, then his ſon; after which Ariſtomache preſented Arete to him, with this addreſs: "Your "baniſhment, Dion, made us all equally miſerable. "Your return, and your ſucceſs, have made us all "happy, except her whom I had the misfortune to ſee, "by cruel compulſion, given to another, while you "were yet alive. We are now entirely in your diſ- "poſal;—but how will you determine concerning "this unhappy woman?—And how muſt ſhe ſa- "lute you?—As her uncle, or as her huſband?"—Dion was affected by this tender interceſſion, and wept. He embraced Arete with great affection, put his ſon into her hands, and deſired her to retire to his own houſe, where he purpoſed to reſide; for the citadel he immediately delivered up to the Syracuſans.

All things had now ſucceeded to his wiſh; but he, by no means, ſought to reap the firſt advantages of his good fortune. His firſt object was to gratify his friends, to reward his allies, and to give his fellow-citizens and foreign ſoldiers proper marks of his favour, in which his munificence even exceeded his abilities. As to himſelf, he lived in a plain and frugal manner, which, on this occaſion, in particular, was uni-

univerſally admired. For while the fame of his actions, and the reputation of his valour, was ſpread through Sicily and Greece, he ſeemed rather to live with Plato in the ſparing ſimplicity of the academic life, than among ſoldiers, who look upon every ſpecies of luxury as a compenſation for the toils and dangers of war. Though Plato himſelf wrote to him, that the eyes of the whole world were upon him, he ſeems not to have carried his attentions beyond one particular part of the city, the academy. His judges in that ſociety, he knew, would not ſo much regard the greatneſs of his performances, his courage, or his victories, as that temper of mind with which he bore proſperity, and that moderation with which he ſuſtained his happier fortunes. He did not, in the leaſt, relax the ſeverity of his manners; he kept the ſame reſerve to the people, though condeſcenſion was, at this time, politically neceſſary; and though Plato, as we have already obſerved, had expoſtulated with him on this account, and told him, that *auſterity was the companion of ſolitude.* He had certainly a natural antipathy to complaiſance; and he had moreover a deſign, by his own example, to reform the manners of the Syracuſans, which were become vain, diſſolute, and immodeſt. Heraclides once more began to oppoſe him. Dion ſent for him to attend at the council; and he made anſwer, that he would not attend in any other capacity than as a private citizen at a public aſſembly. Soon after this he impeached Dion of declining to demoliſh the citadel, and of preventing the people from opening the tomb of Dionyſius, and dragging out the body. He accuſed him likewiſe of ſending for counſellors and miniſters to Corinth, in contempt of his fellow-citizens. And it is true, that he had engaged ſome Corinthians to aſſiſt him in ſettling his plan of government. His intention was to reſtrain the unlimited power of the popular adminiſtration (which cannot properly be called a government, but, as Plato

terms

terms it, a warehouſe of governments*) and to eſtabliſh the conſtitution on the Lacedemonian and Cretan plan. This was a mixture of the regal and popular governments, or rather an ariſtocracy. Dion knew that the Corinthians were governed chiefly by the nobility, and that the influence of the people rarely interfered. He foreſaw that Heraclides would be no inconſiderable impediment to his ſcheme. He knew him to be factious, turbulent, and inconſtant; and he, therefore, gave him up to thoſe who adviſed to kill him, though he had before ſaved him out of their hands. Accordingly they broke into his houſe, and murdered him. His death was, at firſt, reſented by the citizens; but when Dion gave him a magnificent funeral, attended the dead body with his ſoldiers, and pronounced an oration to the people, their reſentment went off. Indeed, they were ſenſible that the city would never be at peace whilſt the competitions of Dion and Heraclides ſubſiſted.

Dion had a friend named Callippus, an Athenian, with whom he firſt became acquainted, not on account of his literary merit, but, according to Plato, becauſe he happened to be introduced by him to ſome religious myſteries. He had always attended him in the army, and was in great eſteem. He was the firſt of his friends who marched along with him into Syracuſe, with a garland on his head, and he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in every action. This man finding that Dion's chief friends had fallen in the war; that, ſince the death of Heraclides, the popular party was without a leader, and that he himſelf ſtood in great favour with the army, formed an execrable deſign againſt the life of his benefactor. His object was certainly the ſupreme command in Sicily, though ſome ſay he was bribed to it with twenty talents: for this purpoſe he drew ſeveral of the ſoldiers into a conſpiracy againſt Dion; and his plot was conducted

* Repub. lib. viii.

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in a moſt artful manner. He conſtantly informed Dion of what he heard, or pretended to hear, ſaid againſt him in the army. By this means he obtained ſuch confidence, that he was allowed to converſe privately with whom he thought proper, and to ſpeak with the utmoſt freedom againſt Dion, that he might diſcover his ſecret enemies. Thus, in a ſhort time, he drew about him all the ſeditious and diſcontented citizens; and if any one of different principles informed Dion that his integrity had been tried, he gave himſelf no concern about it, as that point had already been ſettled with Callippus.

While this conſpiracy was on foot, Dion had a monſtrous and dreadful apparition. As he was meditating one evening alone in the portico before his houſe, he heard a ſudden noiſe, and, turning about, perceived (for it was not yet dark) a woman of gigantic ſize at the end of the portico, in the form of one of the furies, as they are repreſented on the theatre, ſweeping the floor with a broom. In his terror and amazement he ſent for ſome of his friends, and, informing them of this prodigy, deſired they would ſtay with him during the night. His mind was in the utmoſt diſorder; and he was apprehenſive that, if they left him, the ſpectre would appear again; but he ſaw it no more. Soon after this his only ſon, who was now almoſt grown up to manhood, upon ſome childiſh diſpleaſure, or frivolous affront, threw himſelf from the top of the houſe, and was killed upon the ſpot.

While Dion was in this diſtreſs, Callippus was ripening the conſpiracy; and for this purpoſe, he propagated a report in Syracuſe, that Dion, being now childleſs, had determined to adopt Apollocrates, the ſon of Dionyſius, who was nephew to his wife, and grandſon to his ſiſter. The plot, however, was now ſuſpected both by Dion, his wife, and ſiſter. Dion, who had ſtained his honour, and tarniſhed his glories, by the murder of Heraclides, had as we

may

may ſuppoſe, his anxieties on that account; and he would frequently declare, that rather than live, not only in fear of his enemies, but in ſuſpicion of his friends, he would die a thouſand deaths, and freely open his boſom to the aſſaſſin.

When Callippus found the women inquiſitive and ſuſpicious, he was afraid of the conſequence; and aſſerted, with tears, his own integrity, offering to give them any pledge of his fidelity they might deſire. They required that he would take the *great oath*; the form of which is as follows: The perſon who takes it, goes down into the temple of the Theſmophori; where, after the performance of ſome religious ceremonies, he puts on the purple robe of Proſerpine, and, holding a flaming torch in his hand, proceeds on the oath. All this Callippus did without heſitation; and to ſhew with what contempt he held the goddeſs, he appointed the execution of his conſpiracy on the day of her feſtival. Indeed, he could hardly think that even this would enhance his guilt, or render him more obnoxious to the goddeſs, when he was the very perſon who had before initiated Dion in her ſacred myſteries.

The conſpiracy was now ſupported by numbers; and as Dion was ſurrounded by his friends, in the apartment where he uſually entertained them, the conſpirators inveſted the houſe, ſome ſecuring the doors, and others the windows. The aſſaſſins, who were Zacynthians, came in unarmed, in their ordinary dreſs. Thoſe who remained without, made faſt the doors. The Zacynthians then fell upon Dion, and endeavoured to ſtrangle him; but not ſucceeding in this, they called for a ſword. No one, however, durſt open the door; for Dion had many friends about him: yet they had, in effect, nothing to fear from theſe; for each concluded, that, by giving up Dion, he ſhould conſult his own ſafety. When they had waited ſome time, Lycon, a Syracuſan, put a ſhort ſword through the window into the hands of

a Zacynthian, who fell upon Dion, already ſtunned and ſenſeleſs, and cut his throat like a victim at the altar. His ſiſter and his wife (who was pregnant) they impriſoned. In this unhappy ſituation ſhe fell in labour, and was delivered of a ſon, whom they ventured to preſerve; for Callippus was too much embroiled by his own affairs to attend to them; and the keepers of the priſon were prevailed on to connive at it.

After Dion was cut off, and Callippus had the whole government of Syracuſe in his hands, he had the preſumption to write to the Athenians; whom, after the gods, he ought of all others to have dreaded, polluted as he was with the murder of his benefactor. But it has been obſerved, with great truth, of that ſtate, that its good men are the beſt, and its bad men the worſt in the world: As the ſoil of Attica produces the fineſt honey, and the moſt fatal poiſons. The ſucceſs of Callippus did not long reproach the indulgence of the gods. He ſoon received the puniſhment he deſerved; for, in attempting to take Catana, he loſt Syracuſe; upon which occaſion he ſaid that he had loſt a city, and got a cheeſe-grater*. Afterwards, at the ſiege of Meſſana, moſt of his men were cut off; and, amongſt the reſt, the murderers of Dion. As he was refuſed admiſſion by every city in Sicily, and univerſally hated and deſpiſed, he paſſed into Italy, and made himſelf maſter of Rhegium; but being no longer able to maintain his ſoldiers, he was ſlain by Leptines and Polyperchon with the very ſame ſword with which Dion had been aſſaſſinated; for it was known by the ſize (being ſhort like the Spartan ſwords) and by the curious workmanſhip.—Thus Callippus received the puniſhment due to his crimes.

When Ariſtomache and Arete were releaſed out of priſon, they were received by Icetes, a Syracu-

* But the word which ſignifies a cheeſe-grater in Greek is not *Catane*, but *Patane*.

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ſan, a friend of Dion's; who, for ſome time, entertained them with hoſpitality and good faith. Afterwards, however, being prevailed on by the enemies of Dion, he put them on board a veſſel, under pretence of ſending them to the Peloponneſus; but privately ordered the ſailors to kill them in the paſſage, and throw the bodies overboard. Others ſay, that they and the infant were thrown alive into the ſea. This wretch too paid the forfeit of his villany, for he was put to death by Timoleon; and the Syracuſans, to revenge Dion, ſlew his two daughters: of which I have made more particular mention in the life of Timoleon.

M. BRUTUS.

THE great anceſtor of Marcus Brutus was that Junius Brutus to whom the ancient Romans erected a ſtatue of braſs, and placed it in the capitol amongſt their kings. He was repreſented with a drawn ſword in his hand, to ſignify the ſpirit and firmneſs with which he vanquiſhed the Tarquins: but, hard-tempered, like the ſteel of which that ſword was compoſed, and in no degree humanized by education; the ſame obdurate ſeverity which impelled him againſt the tyrant, ſhut up his natural affection from his children, when he found thoſe children conſpiring for the ſupport of tyranny. On the contrary, that Brutus, whoſe life we are now writing, had all the advantages that ariſe from the cultivation of philoſophy. To his ſpirit, which was naturally ſedate and mild, he gave vigour and activity by conſtant application. Upon the whole, he was happily formed to virtue, both by nature and education. Even the partizans of Cæſar aſcribed to him every thing that had the appearance of honour or generoſity in the conſpiracy; and all that was of a contrary complexion, they laid to the charge of Caſſius; who was, indeed, the friend and relation of Brutus; but by no means reſembled him in the ſimplicity of his manners. It is univerſally allowed, that his mother, Servilia, was deſcended from Servilius Ahala; who, when Spurius Mælius ſeditiouſly aſpired to the monarchy, went up to him in the forum, under a pretence of buſineſs; and as Mælius inclined his head to hear what he would ſay, ſtabbed him with a dagger, which he had concealed for

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the purpoſe *. But the partizans of Cæſar would not allow that he was deſcended from Junius Brutus, whoſe family, they ſaid, was extinct with his two ſons †. Marcus Brutus, according to them, was a plebeian, deſcended from one Brutus, a ſteward, of mean extraction; and that the family had but lately riſen to any dignity in the ſtate. On the contrary, Poſidonius, the philoſopher, agrees with thoſe hiſtorians who ſay that Junius Brutus had a third ſon, who was an infant when his brothers were put to death, and that Marcus Brutus was deſcended from him. He further tells us, that there were ſeveral illuſtrious perſons of that family in his time, with whom he was well acquainted; and who very much reſembled the ſtatue of Junius Brutus ‡.

Cato, the philoſopher, was brother to Servilia, the mother of Brutus; who greatly admired and imitated the virtues of his uncle; and married his daughter Porcia.

Brutus was acquainted with all the ſects of the Greek philoſophers, and underſtood their doctrines; but the Platoniſts ſtood higheſt in his eſteem. He had no great opinion either of the new, or of the middle academy; but applied himſelf wholly to the ſtudies of the ancient. Antiochus, of Aſcolan, was, therefore, his favourite; and he entertained his brother Ariſton in his own houſe: a man, who, though inferior to ſome of the philoſophers in learning, was equal to the firſt of them in modeſty, prudence, and gentleneſs of manners. Empylus, who likewiſe lived with Brutus, as we find in his

* Livy, and other hiſtorians, relate this matter differently. Some of them ſay confidently, that Servilius, who was then general of the horſe, put Mælius to death by order of Cincinatus the dictator.

† Of this number is Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus.

‡ There were ſeveral diſtinguiſhed perſons of this family in the year of Rome 558: ſome of whom oppoſed the abrogation of the Oppian law, and were beſieged by the Roman women in their houſes. Livy, xxxiv. Val. Max. l. ix.

own epiſtles, and in thoſe of his friends, was an orator; and left a ſhort, but well-written narrative of the death of Cæſar, intituled *Brutus*.

Brutus ſpoke with great ability in Latin, both in the field and at the bar. In Greek he affected the ſententious and laconic way; there are ſeveral inſtances of this in his epiſtles. Thus, in the beginning of the war, he wrote to the Pergamenians: "I "hear you have given money to Dolabella. If you "gave it willingly, you muſt own you injured me; "if unwillingly, ſhew it by giving it willingly to "me." Thus, on another occaſion, to the Samians: "Your deliberations are tedious; your actions ſlow: "what, think you, will be the conſequence?" Of the Patareans thus: "The Xanthians rejected my "kindneſs, and deſperately made their country their "grave. The Patareans confided in me, and re-"tained their liberty. It is in your own choice to "imitate the prudence of the Patareans, or to ſuffer "the fate of the Xanthians." And ſuch is the ſtyle of his moſt remarkable letters.

While he was yet very young, he accompanied Cato to Cyprus, in the expedition againſt Ptolemy. After Ptolemy had killed himſelf, Cato, being detained by buſineſs in the iſle of Rhodes, ſent Caninius to ſecure the king's treaſure; but ſuſpecting his fidelity, he wrote to Brutus to ſail immediately to Cyprus from Pamphylia; where, after a fit of ſickneſs, he ſtaid for the re-eſtabliſhment of his health. He obeyed the order with reluctance, both out of reſpect to Caninius, who was ſuperſeded with diſgrace, and becauſe he thought the employment illiberal, and by no means proper for a young man who was in purſuit of philoſophy. Nevertheleſs he executed the commiſſion with ſuch diligence, that he had the approbation of Cato; and having turned the effects of Ptolemy into ready money, he brought the greateſt part of it to Rome.

When Rome was divided into two factions, and

Pompey

Pompey and Cæſar were in arms againſt each other, it was generally believed that Brutus would join Cæſar, becauſe his father had been put to death by Pompey. However, he thought it his duty to ſacrifice his reſentments to the intereſt of his country; and judging Pompey's to be the better cauſe, he joined his party; though, before, he would not even ſalute Pompey when he met him; eſteeming it a crime to have any converſation with the murderer of his father. He now looked upon him as the head of the commonwealth; and, therefore, liſting under his banner, he ſailed for Sicily in quality of lieutenant to Seſtius, who was governor of the iſland. There, however, he found no opportunity to diſtinguiſh himſelf; and being informed that Pompey and Cæſar were encamped near each other, and preparing for that battle on which the whole empire depended, he went voluntarily into Macedonia to have his ſhare in the danger. Pompey, it is ſaid, was ſo much ſurprized and pleaſed with his coming, that he roſe to embrace him in the preſence of his guards, and treated him with as much reſpect as if he had been his ſuperior. During the time that he was in camp, thoſe hours that he did not ſpend with Pompey he employed in reading and ſtudy; and thus he paſſed the day before the battle of Pharſalia. It was the middle of ſummer; the heats were intenſe, the marſhy ſituation of the camp diſagreeable, and his tent-bearers were long in coming: nevertheleſs, though extremely harraſſed and fatigued, he did not anoint himſelf till noon; and then, taking a morſel of bread, while others were at reſt, or muſing on the event of the enſuing day, he employed himſelf till the evening in writing an epitome of Polybius.

Cæſar, it is ſaid, had ſo high an eſteem for him, that he ordered his officers by all means to ſave him, if he would ſurrender himſelf; and, if he refuſed, to let him eſcape with his life. Some have placed this kindneſs to the account of Servilia, the mother of

Brutus, with whom Cæſar had connections of a tender nature in the early part of his life*. Beſides, as this amour was in full blow about the time when Brutus was born, Cæſar had ſome reaſon to believe he might be his ſon. The intrigue was notorious. When the ſenate was debating on the dangerous conſpiracy of Catiline, Cato and Cæſar, who took different ſides of the queſtion, happened to ſit near each other. In the midſt of the buſineſs, a note was brought to Cæſar from without, which he read ſilently to himſelf. Cato, hereupon, loudly accuſed Cæſar of receiving letters from the enemies of the commonwealth; and Cæſar, finding that it had occaſioned a diſturbance in the ſenate, delivered the note to Cato as he had received it. Cato, when he found it to be nothing but a lewd letter from his own ſiſter Servilia, threw it back again to Cæſar. "Take "it you ſot," ſaid he, and went on with the public buſineſs.

After the battle of Pharſalia, when Pompey was fled towards the ſea, and Cæſar was ſtorming the camp, Brutus eſcaped through one of the gates, and fled into a watery marſh, where he hid himſelf amongſt the reeds. From thence he ventured out in the night, and got ſafe to Lariſſa. From Lariſſa he wrote to Cæſar, who expreſſed the greateſt pleaſure in hearing of his ſafety; ſent for him, and entertained him amongſt the firſt of his friends. When no one could give account which way Pompey was fled, Cæſar walked for ſome time alone with Brutus, to conſult his opinion; and finding that it was for Ægypt, he rejected the opinions of the reſt, and directed his march for that country. Pompey had,

* Theſe connections were well known. Caeſar made her a preſent, on a certain occaſion, of a pearl which coſt him near 50,000l. In the civil wars he aſſigned to her a confiſcated eſtate for a mere trifle; and when the people expreſſed their ſuprize at its cheapneſs, Cicero ſaid humorouſly, *Quo melius emptam ſciatis, tertia deducta eſt.* *Tertia* was a daughter of Servilia's, and *deducta* was a term in the procuring buſineſs.

indeed,

indeed, taken the route of Ægypt, as Brutus conjectured; but he had already met his fate.

Brutus had so much influence with Cæsar, that he reconciled him to his friend Cassius; and when he spoke in behalf of the king of Africa, though there were many impeachments against him, he obtained for him a great part of his kingdom*. When he first began to speak on this occasion, Cæsar said, "I know not what this young man intends; but "whatever it is, he intends it strongly." His mind was steady, and not easily moved by intreaties. His principles were reason, and honour, and virtue; and the ends to which these directed him he prosecuted with so much vigour, that he seldom failed of success. No flattery could induce him to attend to unjust petitions; and though that ductility of mind, which may be wrought upon by the impudence of importunity, is by some called good-nature, he considered it as the greatest disgrace. He used to say, that he suspected those who could refuse no favours, had not very honestly employed the flower of their youth.

Cæsar, previously to his expedition into Africa, against Cato and Scipio, appointed Brutus to the government of Gallia Cisalpina. And this was very fortunate for that particular province: for while the inhabitants of other provinces were oppressed and treated like slaves, by the violence and rapacity of their governors, Brutus behaved with so much kindness to the people under his jurisdiction, that they were in some measure indemnified for their former sufferings. Yet he ascribed every thing to the goodness of Cæsar; and it was no small gratification to the latter to find, on his return through Italy, not only Brutus himself, but all the cities under his com-

* Plutarch must here be mistaken. It was Deiotarus, and not the king of Africa, that Brutus pleaded for.

mand,

mand, ready to attend his progreſs, and induſtrious to do him honour.

As there were ſeveral praetorſhips vacant, it was the general opinion that the chief of them, which is the praetorſhip of the city, would be conferred either on Brutus or on Caſſius. Some ſay, that this competition heightened the variance that had already taken place between Brutus and Caſſius; for there was a miſunderſtanding between them, though Caſſius was allied to Brutus by marrying his ſiſter Junia. Others ſay, that this competition was a political manœuvre of Cæſar's; who had encouraged it by favouring both their hopes in private. Be that as it may, Brutus had little more than the reputation of his virtue to ſet againſt the gallant actions performed by Caſſius in the Parthian war. Cæſar weighed the merits of each; and after conſulting with his friends, "Caſſius," he ſaid, "has the better title to "it; notwithſtanding, Brutus muſt have the firſt "prætorſhip." Another praetorſhip was, therefore, given to Caſſius; but he was not ſo much obliged by this, as offended by the loſs of the firſt. Brutus had, or at leaſt might have had, equal influence with Cæſar in every thing elſe: he might have ſtood the firſt in authority and intereſt, but he was drawn off by Caſſius's party: not that he was perfectly reconciled to Caſſius, ſince the competition for the praetorial appointments; but he liſtened to his friends, who were perpetually adviſing him not to be ſoothed or cajoled by Cæſar, but to reject the civilities of a tyrant, whoſe object was not to reward, but to diſarm his virtue. On the other hand, Cæſar had his ſuſpicions, and Brutus his accuſers; yet the former thought he had leſs to fear from his ſpirit, his authority, and his connections, than he had to hope from his honeſty. When he was told that Antony and Dolabella had ſome dangerous conſpiracy on foot, "It is not," ſaid he, "the ſleek and fat men that "I fear, but the pale and the lean;" meaning Brutus

tus and Caſſius. Afterwards, when he was adviſed to beware of Brutus, he laid his hand upon his breaſt, and ſaid, "Do you not think, then, that "Brutus will wait till I have done with this poor "body?" as if he thought Brutus the only proper perſon to ſucceed him in his immenſe power. Indeed, it is extremely probable that Brutus would have been the firſt man in Rome, could he have had patience a while to be the ſecond, and have waited till time had waſted the power of Cæſar, and dimmed the luſtre of his great actions. But Caſſius, a man of violent paſſions, and an enemy to Cæſar rather from perſonal than political hatred, ſtill urged him againſt the dictator. It was univerſally ſaid, that Brutus hated the imperial power; and that Caſſius hated the emperor. Caſſius, indeed, pretended that Cæſar had injured him. He complained that the lions, which he had procured when he was nominated Ædile, and which he had ſent to Megara, Cæſar had taken, and converted to his own uſe; having found them there when that city was taken by Calanus. Thoſe lions, it is ſaid, were very fatal to the inhabitants; for as ſoon as their city was taken, they opened their dens, and unchained them in the ſtreets, that they might ſtop the irruption of the enemy; but inſtead of that, they fell upon the citizens, and tore them in ſuch a manner, that their very enemies were ſtruck with horror. Some ſay that this was the principal motive with Caſſius for conſpiring againſt Cæſar; but they are ſtrangely miſtaken. Caſſius had a natural averſion to the whole race of tyrants; which he ſhewed even when he was at ſchool with Fauſtus the ſon of Sylla. When Fauſtus was boaſting amongſt the boys of the unlimited power of his father, Caſſius roſe and ſtruck him on the face. The friends and tutors of Fauſtus would have taken upon themſelves to puniſh the inſult; but Pompey prevented it, and, ſending for the boys, examined them himſelf. Upon which,

Caſſius

Caſſius ſaid, "Come along Fauſtus, repeat, if you "dare, before Pompey, the expreſſions which pro- "voked me, that I may puniſh you in the ſame "manner." Such was the diſpoſition of Caſſius.

But Brutus was animated to this undertaking by the perſuaſion of his friends, by private intimations, and anonymous letters. Under the ſtatue of his anceſtor, who deſtroyed the Tarquins, was placed a paper with theſe words: *O that we had a Brutus now! O that Brutus were now alive!* His own tribunal, on which he ſat as praetor, was continually filled with ſuch inſcriptions as theſe: *Brutus thou ſleepeſt! Thou art not a true Brutus!* The ſycophants of Cæſar were the occaſion of this; for, amongſt other invidious diſtinctions which they paid him, they crowned his ſtatues by night, that the people might ſalute him king, inſtead of dictator. However, it had a contrary effect; as I have ſhewn more at large in the life of Cæſar.

When Caſſius ſolicited his friends to engage in the conſpiracy, they all conſented, on condition that Brutus would take the lead. They concluded that it was not ſtrength of hands or reſolution that they wanted, but the countenance of a man of reputation to preſide at this ſacrifice, and to juſtify the deed. They were ſenſible that, without him, they ſhould neither proceed with ſpirit, nor eſcape ſuſpicion when they had effected their purpoſe. The world, they knew, would conclude, that if the action had been honourable, Brutus would not have refuſed to engage in it. Caſſius having conſidered theſe things, determined to pay Brutus the firſt viſit after the quarrel that had been between them; and as ſoon as the compliments of reconciliation were over, he aſked him, "Whether he intended to be in "the ſenate on the calends of March; for it was "reported," he ſaid, "that Cæſar's friends de- "ſigned to move that he ſhould be declared king." Brutus anſwered, 'He ſhould not be there;' and

Caſſius

Caſſius replied, "But, what if they ſhould ſend for "us?' 'It would then,' ſaid Brutus, 'be my duty, 'not only to ſpeak againſt it, but to ſacrifice my 'life for the liberties of Rome.' Caſſius, encouraged by this, proceeded:——"But what Roman "would bear to ſee you die? Do not you know "yourſelf, Brutus? Think you that thoſe inſcrip-"tions you found on your tribunal were placed "there by weavers and victuallers, and not by the "firſt men in Rome? From other praetors they "looked for preſents, and ſhows, and gladiators; "but from you they expect the abolition of tyranny, "as a debt which your family has entailed upon "you. They are ready to ſuffer every thing on your "account, if you are really what you ought, and "what they expect you to be." After this he embraced Brutus; and being perfectly reconciled, they retired to their reſpective friends.

In Pompey's party there was one Quintus Ligarius, whom Cæſar had pardoned, though he had borne arms againſt him. This man, leſs grateful for the pardon he had received than offended with the power which made him ſtand in need of it, hated Cæſar; and was the intimate friend of Brutus. The latter one day viſited him; and finding him not well, ſaid, "O Ligarius! what a time is this to be "ſick?" Upon which he raiſed himſelf on his elbow, and, taking Brutus by the hand, anſwered, 'If Brutus has any deſign worthy of himſelf, Li-'garius is well.' They now tried the inclinations of all they could truſt; and took into the conſpiracy, not only their familiar friends, but ſuch as they knew to be brave, and above the fear of death. For this reaſon, though they had the greateſt regard for Cicero, and the utmoſt confidence in his principles as a republican, they concealed the conſpiracy from him, leſt his natural timidity, and the warineſs of age, ſhould retard thoſe meaſures which required the moſt reſolute diſpatch.

Brutus

Brutus likewiſe thought proper to leave his friends, Statilius and Favonius (the follower of Cato) out of the conſpiracy. He had tried their ſentiments, under the colour of a philoſophical diſpute; in which Favonius obſerved, that the worſt abſolute government was preferable to a civil war: and Statilius added, that it became no wiſe man to expoſe himſelf to fear and danger on account of the faults and follies of others. But Labeo, who was preſent, contradicted both. And Brutus, though he was then ſilent, as if the diſpute had been difficult to determine, afterwards communicated the deſign to Labeo, who readily concurred in it. It was then agreed to gain over the other Brutus, ſurnamed Albinus; who, though not diſtinguiſhed by his perſonal courage, was of conſequence, on account of the great number of gladiators he bred for the public ſhows, and the entire confidence that Cæſar placed in him. To the ſolicitations of Caſſius and Labeo he made no anſwer; but when he came privately to Brutus, and found that he was at the head of the conſpiracy, he made no ſcruple of joining them. The name of Brutus drew in many more of the moſt conſiderable perſons in the ſtate; and though they had entered into no oath of ſecrecy, they kept the deſign ſo cloſe, that notwithſtanding the gods themſelves announced the event, by a variety of prodigies, no one would give credit to the conſpiracy.

Brutus now felt his conſequence lie heavy upon him. The ſafety of ſome of the greateſt men in Rome depended on his conduct; and he could not think of the danger they were to encounter without anxiety. In public, indeed, he ſuppreſſed his uneaſineſs; but at home, and eſpecially by night, he was not the ſame man. Sometimes he would ſtart from his ſleep; at others, he was totally immerſed in thought. From which, and the like circumſtances, it was obvious to his wife that he was revolving

revolving in his mind ſome difficult and dangerous enterprize. Porcia, as we before obſerved, was the daughter of Cato. She was married to her couſin Brutus very young, though ſhe was a widow, and had a ſon named Bibulus, after his father. There is a ſmall tract of his ſtill extant, called *Memoirs of Brutus*. Porcia added to the affection of a wife, the prudence of a woman who was not unacquainted with philoſophy; and ſhe reſolved not to enquire into her huſband's ſecrets before ſhe had made the following trial of her own firmneſs. She ordered all her attendants out of her apartment, and, with a ſmall knife, gave herſelf a deep wound in the thigh. This occaſioned a great effuſion of blood, extreme pain, and a fever in conſequence of that pain. Brutus was extremely afflicted for her; and as he attended her, in the height of her pain, ſhe thus ſpoke to him: "Brutus, when you married "the daughter of Cato, you did not, I preſume, "conſider her merely as a female companion, but "as the partner of your fortunes. You, indeed, "have given me no reaſon to repent my marriage; "but what proof, either of affection or fidelity, can "you receive from me, if I may neither ſhare in "your ſecret griefs, nor in your ſecret counſels? I "am ſenſible that ſecrecy is not the characteriſtic "virtue of my ſex: but ſurely our natural weak-"neſs may be ſtrengthened by a virtuous educa-"tion, and by honourable connections; and Porcia "can boaſt that ſhe is the daughter of Cato, and "the wife of Brutus. Yet even in theſe diſtinctions "I placed no abſolute confidence, till I tried, and "found that I was proof againſt pain." When ſhe had ſaid this, ſhe ſhewed him her wound, and informed him of her motives: upon which Brutus was ſo ſtruck with her magnanimity, that, with lifted hands, he intreated the gods to favour his enterprize, and enable him to approve himſelf worthy

of

of Porcia. He then took every means to cure her wound, and reſtore her health.

A meeting of the ſenate being appointed, at which Cæſar was expected to attend, *that* was thought a proper time for the execution of their deſign. For *then* they could not only appear together without ſuſpicion, but as ſome of the moſt conſiderable perſons in the commonwealth would be preſent, they flattered themſelves that, as ſoon as the deed was done, they would join in aſſerting the common liberty. The place too where the ſenate was to meet, ſeemed providentially favourable for their purpoſe. It was a portico adjoining to the theatre; and in the midſt of a ſaloon, furniſhed with benches, ſtood a ſtatue of Pompey, which had been erected to him by the commonwealth, when he adorned that part of the city with thoſe buildings. Here the ſenate was convened on the ides of March; and it ſeemed as if ſome god ſhould bring Cæſar to this place to revenge upon him the death of Pompey.

When the day came, Brutus went out, and took with him a dagger: which laſt circumſtance was known only to his wife. The reſt met at the houſe of Caſſius, and conducted his ſon, who was that day to put on the *toga virilis* to the forum; from whence they proceeded to Pompey's portico, and waited for Cæſar. Any one that had been privy to the deſign of the conſpirators, would here have been aſtoniſhed at their calm and conſiſtent firmneſs. Many of them were praetors, and obliged by their office to hear and determine cauſes. Theſe they heard with ſo much calmneſs, and decided with ſo much accuracy, that one could not have ſuppoſed there had been any thing elſe upon their minds; and when a certain perſon appealed from the judgment of Brutus to Cæſar, Brutus, looking round on the aſſembly, ſaid, *Cæſar neither does, nor ſhall hinder me from acting agreeably to the laws.* Nevertheleſs, they were diſturbed by many accidents. Though the day was

far

far ſpent, ſtill Cæſar did not come, being detained by his wife and the ſoothſayers, on account of defects in the ſacrifices. In the mean time a perſon came up to Caſca, one of the conſpirators, and taking him by the hand, "You concealed the thing from me," ſaid he; "but Brutus has told me all." Caſca expreſſed his ſurprize; upon which the other ſaid, laughing, "How come you to be ſo rich of a ſudden, as "to ſtand for aedileſhip?" So near was the great ſecret being blown by the ambiguity of this man's diſcourſe! At the ſame time Popilius Laena, a ſenator, after ſaluting Brutus and Caſſius in a very obliging manner, ſaid, in a whiſper, "My beſt wiſhes are "with you:—but make no delay; for it is now no "ſecret." After ſaying this, he immediately went away, and left them in great conſternation; for they concluded that every thing was diſcovered. Soon after this a meſſenger came running from Brutus's houſe, and told him that his wife was dying. Porcia had been under extreme anxiety, and in great agitations about the event. At every little noiſe or voice ſhe heard, ſhe ſtarted up and ran to the door, like one of the frantic prieſteſſes of Bacchus, enquiring of every one that came from the forum, what Brutus was doing. She ſent meſſenger after meſſenger to make the ſame enquiries; and being unable any longer to ſupport the agitations of her mind, ſhe at length fainted away. She had not time to retire to her chamber. As ſhe ſat in the middle of the houſe, her ſpirits failed, her colour changed, and ſhe loſt her ſenſes and her ſpeech. Her women ſhrieked, the neighbours ran to their aſſiſtance, and a report was ſoon ſpread through the city that Porcia was dead. However, by the care of thoſe that were about her, ſhe recovered in a little time. Brutus was greatly diſtreſſed with the news, and not without reaſon; but his private grief gave way to the public concern: for it was now reported that Cæſar was coming on a litter. The ill omens of his ſacrifices

had deterred him from entering on buſineſs of importance; and he propoſed to defer it under a pretence of indiſpoſition. As ſoon as he came out of the litter, Popilius Laena, who a little before had wiſhed Brutus ſucceſs, went up, and ſpoke to him for a conſiderable time, Cæſar all the while ſtanding, and ſeeming very attentive. The conſpirators not being able to hear what he ſaid, ſuſpected, from what had paſſed between him and Brutus, that he was now making a diſcovery of their deſign. This diſconcerted them extremely; and looking upon each other, they agreed, by the ſilent language of the countenance, that they ſhould not ſtay to be taken, but diſpatch themſelves. With this intent Caſſius and ſome others were juſt about to draw their daggers from under their robes, when Brutus obſerving, from the looks and geſtures of Laena, that he was petitioning, and not accuſing, encouraged Caſſius by the cheerfulneſs of his countenance. This was the only way by which he could communicate his ſentiments, being ſurrounded by many who were ſtrangers to the conſpiracy. Laena, after a little while, kiſſed Cæſar's hand, and left him; and it plainly appeared upon the whole, that he had been ſpeaking about his own affairs.

The ſenate were already ſeated, and the conſpirators got cloſe about Cæſar's chair, under pretence of preferring a ſuit to him. Caſſius turned his face to Pompey's ſtatue, and invoked it, as if it had been ſenſible of his prayers. Tribonius kept Antony in converſation without the court. And now Cæſar entered, and the whole ſenate roſe to ſalute him. The conſpirators crowded around him, and ſet Tullius Cimber, one of their number, to ſolicit the recall of his brother, who was baniſhed. They all united in the ſolicitation, took hold of Cæſar's hand, and kiſſed his head and his breaſt. He rejected their applications; and finding that they would not deſiſt, at length roſe from his ſeat in anger. Tullius, upon this,

this, laid hold of his robe, and pulled it from his ſhoulders. Caſca, who ſtood behind, gave him the firſt, though but a ſlight wound with his dagger, near the ſhoulder. Cæſar caught the handle of the dagger, and ſaid in Latin, "Villain! Caſca! What "doſt thou mean?" Caſca, in Greek, called his brother to his aſſiſtance. Cæſar was wounded by numbers almoſt at the ſame inſtant, and looked round him for ſome way to eſcape; but when he ſaw the dagger of Brutus pointed againſt him, he let go Caſca's hand, and, covering his head with his robe, reſigned himſelf to their ſwords. The conſpirators preſſed ſo eagerly to ſtab him, that they wounded each other. Brutus, in attempting to have his ſhare in the ſacrifice, received a wound in his hand; and all of them were covered with blood.

Cæſar thus ſlain, Brutus ſtepped forward into the middle of the ſenate-houſe, and, propoſing to make a ſpeech, deſired the ſenators to ſtay. They fled, however, with the utmoſt precipitation, though no one purſued; for the conſpirators had no deſign on any life but Cæſar's; and, that taken away, they invited the reſt to liberty. Indeed, all but Brutus were of opinion that Antony ſhould fall with Cæſar. They conſidered him as an inſolent man, who, in his principles, favoured monarchy; and who had made himſelf popular in the army. Moreover, beſide his natural diſpoſition to deſpotiſm, he had at this time the conſular power, and was the colleague of Cæſar. Brutus, on the other hand, alleged the injuſtice of ſuch a meaſure, and ſuggeſted the poſſibility of Antony's change of principle. He thought it far from being improbable that, after the deſtruction of Cæſar, a man ſo paſſionately fond of glory, ſhould be inſpired by an emulation to join in reſtoring the commonwealth. Thus Antony was ſaved; though, in the general conſternation, he fled, in the diſguiſe of a plebeian. Brutus and his party betook themſelves to the capital; and ſhewing their bloody hands and

naked ſwords, proclaimed liberty to the people as they paſſed. At firſt all was lamentation, diſtraction, and tumult; but as no further violence was committed, the ſenators and the people recovered from their apprehenſions, and went in a body to the conſpirators in the capitol. Brutus made a popular ſpeech adapted to the occaſion; and this being well received, the conſpirators were encouraged to come down into the forum. The reſt were undiſtinguiſhed; but perſons of the firſt quality attended Brutus, conducted him with great honour from the capitol, and placed him in the roſtrum. At the ſight of Brutus, the populace, though diſpoſed to tumult, were ſtruck with reverence; and when he began to ſpeak, they attended with ſilence. It ſoon appeared, however, that it was not the action, but the man they reſpected; for when Cinna ſpoke, and accuſed Cæſar, they loaded him with the moſt opprobrious language; and became ſo outrageous, that the conſpirators thought proper once more to retire into the capitol. Brutus now expected to be beſieged, and therefore diſmiſſed the principal people that attended him; becauſe he thought it unreaſonable that they who had no concern in the action ſhould be expoſed to the danger that followed it. Next day the ſenate aſſembled in the temple of Tellus; and Antony, Plancus, and Cicero, in their ſeveral ſpeeches, perſuaded and prevailed on the people to forget what had paſſed. Accordingly the conſpirators were not only pardoned, but it was decreed that the conſuls ſhould take into conſideration what honours and dignities were proper to be conferred upon them. After this the ſenate broke up; and Antony, having ſent his ſon as an hoſtage to the capitol, Brutus and his party came down, and mutual compliments paſſed between them. Caſſius was invited to ſup with Antony, Brutus with Lepidus; and the reſt were entertained by their reſpective friends.

Early

Early next morning the ſenate aſſembled again, and voted thanks to Antony for preventing a civil war, as well as to Brutus and his party for their ſervices to the commonwealth. The latter had alſo provinces diſtributed amongſt them. Crete was allotted to Brutus, Africa to Caſſius, Aſia to Trebonius, Bithynia to Cimber, and the other Brutus had that part of Gaul which lies upon the Po.

Cæſar's will and his funeral came next in queſtion. Antony propoſed that the will ſhould be read in public; and that the funeral ſhould not be private, or without proper magnificence, leſt ſuch treatment ſhould exaſperate the people. Caſſius ſtrongly oppoſed this, but Brutus agreed to it; and here he fell into a ſecond error. His preſervation of ſo formidable an enemy as Antony was a miſtaken thing; but his giving up the management of Cæſar's funeral to him, was an irreparable fault. The publication of the will had an immediate tendency to inſpire the people with a paſſionate regret for the death of Cæſar; for he had left to each Roman citizen ſeventy-five drachmas, beſide the public uſe of his gardens beyond the Tyber, where now the Temple of Fortune ſtands. When the body was brought into the forum, and Antony ſpoke the uſual funeral eulogium, as he perceived the people affected by his ſpeech, he endeavoured ſtill more to work upon their paſſions, by unfolding the bloody garment of Cæſar, ſhewing them in how many places it was pierced, and pointing out the number of his wounds. This threw every thing into confuſion. Some called aloud to kill the murderers; others, as was formerly done in the caſe of that ſeditious demagogue Clodius, ſnatched the benches and tables from the neighbouring ſhops, and erected a pile for the body of Cæſar, in the midſt of conſecrated places and ſurrounding temples. As ſoon as the pile was in flames, the people, crowding from all parts, ſnatched the half-burnt brands, and ran round the city to fire the houſes of the conſpira-

tors; but they were on their guard againſt ſuch an aſſault, and prevented the effects.

There was a poet, named Cinna, who had no concern in the conſpiracy, but was rather a friend of Cæſar's. This man dreamt that Cæſar invited him to ſupper, and that, when he declined the invitation, he took him by the hand, and conſtrained him to follow him into a dark and deep place, which he entered with the utmoſt horror. The agitation of his ſpirits threw him into a fever, which laſted the remaining part of the night. In the morning, however, when Cæſar was to be interred, he was aſhamed of abſentinghimſelf from the ſolemnity: he, therefore, mingled with the multitude that had juſt been enraged by the ſpeech of Antony; and being unfortunately miſtaken for that Cinna who had before inveighed againſt Cæſar, he was torn to pieces. This more than any thing, except Antony's change of conduct, alarmed Brutus and his party. They now thought it neceſſary to conſult their ſafety, and retired to Antium. Here they ſat down, with an intent to return as ſoon as the popular fury ſhould ſubſide; and for this, conſidering the inconſtancy of the multitude, they concluded that they ſhould not have long to wait. The ſenate, moreover, was in their intereſt; and though they did not puniſh the murderers of Cinna, they cauſed ſtrict enquiry to be made after thoſe who attempted to burn the houſes of the conſpirators. Antony too became obnoxious to the people; for they ſuſpected him of erecting another kind of monarchy. The return of Brutus was, conſequently, wiſhed for; and, as he was to exhibit ſhows and games in his capacity as praetor, it was expected. Brutus, however, had received intelligence, that ſeveral of Cæſar's old ſoldiers, to whom he had diſtributed lands and colonies, had ſtolen, by ſmall parties, into Rome, and that they lay in wait for him: he, therefore, did not think proper to come himſelf; notwithſtanding which,

the

the ſhows that were exhibited on his account were extremely magnificent; for he had bought a conſiderable number of wild beaſts, and ordered that they ſhould all be reſerved for that purpoſe. He went himſelf as far as Naples to collect a number of comedians; and being informed of one Canutius, who was much admired upon the ſtage, he deſired his friends to uſe all their intereſt to bring him to Rome. Canutius was a Grecian; and Brutus, therefore, thought that no compulſion ſhould be uſed. He wrote likewiſe to Cicero, and begged he would, by all means, be preſent at the public ſhows.

Such was the ſituation of his affairs, when, on the arrival of Octavius at Rome, things took another turn. He was ſon to the ſiſter of Cæſar, who had adopted and appointed him his heir. He was purſuing his ſtudies at Apollonia, and in expectation of meeting Cæſar there on his intended expedition againſt the Parthians, at the time when Cæſar was ſlain. Upon hearing of this event, he immediately came to Rome, and, to ingratiate himſelf with the people, aſſumed the name of Cæſar. By punctually diſtributing amongſt the citizens the money that was left them by his uncle, he ſoon took the lead of Antony; and, by his liberality to the ſoldiers, he brought over to his party the greateſt number of thoſe who had ſerved under Cæſar. Cicero likewiſe, who hated Antony, joined his intereſt: and this was ſo much reſented by Brutus, that, in his letters, he reproached him in the ſevereſt terms. "He perceived," he ſaid, "that Cicero was tame enough "to bear a tyrant, and was only afraid of the "tyrant that hated him;—that his compliments "to Octavius were meant to purchaſe an eaſy ſlavery: but our anceſtors," ſaid Brutus, "ſcorned "to bear even a gentle maſter." He added, that, "As to the meaſures of peace or war, he "was undetermined; but in one thing he was reſolved, which was, *never to be a ſlave!*" He expreſſed

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The city was now divided into two factions: ſome joined Cæſar, others remained with Antony, and the army was ſold to the beſt bidder. Brutus, of courſe, deſpaired of any deſirable event; and, being reſolved to leave Italy, he went by land to Lucania, and came to the maritime town of Elea. Porcia, being to return from thence to Rome, endeavoured, as well as poſſible, to conceal the ſorrow that oppreſſed her; but, notwithſtanding her magnanimity, a picture which ſhe found there betrayed her diſtreſs: the ſubject was the Parting of Hector and Andromache. He was repreſented delivering his ſon Aſtyanax into her arms; and the eyes of Andromache were fixed upon him. The reſemblance that this picture bore to her own diſtreſs, made her burſt into tears the moment ſhe beheld it; and ſeveral times ſhe viſited the melancholy emblem, to gaze upon it, and weep before it. On this occaſion, Acilius, one of Brutus's friends, repeated that paſſage in Homer, where Andromache ſays,

Yet while my Hector *ſtill ſurvives, I ſee*
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POPE.

"She

" She has not perſonal ſtrength, indeed, to ſuſtain " the toils we undergo; but her ſpirit is not leſs ac- " tive in the cauſe of her country." This anecdote we have from Bibulus, the ſon of Porcia.

From Elea, Brutus ſailed for Athens; where he was received with high applauſe, and inveſted with public honours. There he took up his reſidence with a particular friend, and attended the lectures of Theomneſtus the academic, and Cratippus the peripatetic; devoting himſelf wholly to literary purſuits. Yet in this unſuſpected ſtate he was privately preparing for war. He diſpatched Heroſtratus into Macedonia, to gain the principal officers in that province; and he ſecured by his kindneſs all the young Romans who were then ſtudents at Athens. Amongſt theſe was the ſon of Cicero, on whom he beſtowed the higheſt encomiums; and ſaid, that he could never ceaſe admiring the ſpirit of that young man, who bore ſuch a mortal hatred to tyrants.

At length he began to act more publicly; and being informed that ſome Roman ſhips, laden with money, were returning from Aſia, under the command of a man of honour, a friend of his, he met him at Caryſtus, a city of Euboea. There he had a conference with him, and requeſted that he would give up the ſhips. By the bye, it happened to be Brutus's birth-day, on which occaſion he gave a ſplendid entertainment; and while they were drinking *Victory to Brutus* and *Liberty to Rome*, to encourage the cauſe he called for a larger bowl. While he held it in his hand, without any viſible relation to the ſubject they were upon, he pronounced this verſe,

My fall was doom'd by Phoebus and by fate!

Some hiſtorians ſay, that *Apollo* was the word he gave his ſoldiers in the laſt battle at Philippi; and, of courſe, conclude, that this exclamation was a preſage of his defeat. Antiſtius, the commander of the ſhips,

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ſhips, gave him five hundred thouſand drachmas of the money he was carrying to Italy. The remains of Pompey's army that were ſcattered about Theſſaly, readily joined his ſtandard; and, beſide theſe, he took five hundred horſe, whom Cinna was conducting to Dolabella in Aſia. He then ſailed to Demetrias, and ſeized a large quantity of arms, which Julius Cæſar had provided for the Parthian war, and which were now to be ſent to Antony. Macedonia was delivered up to him by Hortenſius the praetor; and all the neighbouring princes readily offered their aſſiſtance. When news was received that Caius, the brother of Antony, had marched through Italy, to join the forces under Gabinius in Dyrrachium and Apollonia, Brutus determined to ſeize them before he arrived; and made a forced march with ſuch troops as were at hand. The way was rugged, and the ſnows were deep; but he moved with ſuch expedition, that his ſutlers were left a long way behind. When he had almoſt reached Dyrrachium, he was ſeized with the diſorder called *Bulimia*, or violent hunger, occaſioned by cold and fatigue. This diſorder affects both men and cattle, after fatigues in the ſnow. Whether it is, that perſpiration being prevented by the extreme cold, the vital heat is confined, and more immediately conſumes the aliment; or that a keen and ſubtle vapour riſing from the melted ſnow, penetrates the body, and deſtroys the heat by expelling it through the pores—for the ſweatings ſeem to riſe from the heat contending with the cold; which being repelled by the latter, the vapoury ſtream is diffuſed over the ſurface of the body:—but of this I have treated more largely in another place. Brutus growing very faint, and no proviſions being at hand, his ſervants were forced to go to the gates of the enemy, and beg bread of the centinels. When they were informed of the diſtreſs of Brutus, they brought him meat and drink in their own hands; and in return for their humanity, when he had taken the city, he

ſhewed kindneſs both to them and to the reſt of the inhabitants.

When Caius arrived in Apollonia, he ſummoned the ſoldiers that were quartered near the city to join him; but finding that they were all with Brutus, and ſuſpecting that thoſe in Apollonia favoured the ſame party, he went to Buthrotus. Brutus, however, found means to deſtroy three of his cohorts in their march. Caius, after this, attempted to ſeize ſome poſts near Byllis, but was routed in a ſet battle by young Cicero, to whom Brutus had given the command of the army on that occaſion, and whoſe conduct he made uſe of frequently, and with ſucceſs. Caius was ſoon after ſurprized in a marſh, from whence he had no means to eſcape; and Brutus finding him in his power, ſurrounded him with his cavalry, and gave orders that none of his men ſhould be killed; for he expected that they would quickly join him of their own accord. As he expected, it came to paſs: they ſurrendered both themſelves and their general; ſo that Brutus had now a very reſpectable army. He treated Caius for a long time with all poſſible reſpect; nor did he diveſt him of any enſigns of dignity that he bore, though, it is ſaid that he received letters from ſeveral perſons at Rome, and, particularly, from Cicero, adviſing him to put him to death. At length, however, when he found that he was ſecretly practiſing with his officers, and exciting ſeditions amongſt the ſoldiers, he put him on board a ſhip, and kept him cloſe priſoner. The ſoldiers that he had corrupted retired into Apollonia; from whence they ſent to Brutus, that if he would come to them there, they would return to their duty. Brutus anſwered, that this was not the cuſtom of the Romans; but that thoſe who had offended ſhould come in perſon to their general, and ſolicit his forgiveneſs. This they did, and were accordingly pardoned.

He was now preparing to go into Aſia, when he was informed of a change in affairs at Rome.

Young

Young Cæſer, ſupported by the ſenate, had gotten the better of Antony, and driven him out of Italy; but, at the ſame time, he began to be no leſs formidable himſelf; for he ſolicited the conſulſhip contrary to law, and kept in pay an unneceſſary army. Conſequently the ſenate, though they at firſt ſupported, were now diſſatisfied with his meaſures. And as they began to caſt their eyes on Brutus, and decreed or confirmed ſeveral provinces to him, Cæſar was under ſome apprehenſions. He, therefore, diſpatched meſſengers to Antony, and deſired that a reconciliation might take place. After this he drew up his army around the city, and carried the conſulſhip, though but a boy, in his twentieth year, as he tells us in his Commentaries. He was no ſooner conſul than he ordered a judicial proceſs to iſſue againſt Brutus and his accomplices, for murdering the firſt magiſtrate in Rome, without trial or condemnation. Lucius Cornificius was appointed to accuſe Brutus, and Marcus Agrippa accuſed Caſſius; neither of whom appearing, the judges were obliged to paſs ſentence againſt both. It is ſaid that when the crier, as uſual, cited Brutus to appear, the people could not ſuppreſs their ſighs; and perſons of the firſt diſtinction heard it in ſilent dejection. Publius Sicilius was obſerved to burſt into tears; and this was the cauſe why he was afterwards proſcribed. The triumviri, Cæſar, Antony, and Lepidus, being now reconciled, divided the provinces amongſt them, and ſettled that liſt of murder, in which two hundred citizens, and Cicero amongſt the reſt, were proſcribed.

When the report of theſe proceedings was brought into Macedonia, Brutus found himſelf under a neceſſity of ſending orders to Hortenſius to kill Caius, the brother of Antony, in revenge of the death of Cicero his friend, and Brutus Albinus his kinſman, who was ſlain. This was the reaſon why Antony, when he had taken Hortenſius at the battle of Philippi, ſlew him upon his brother's tomb. Brutus

ſays,

ſays, that he was more aſhamed of the cauſe of Cicero's death than grieved at the event; while he ſaw Rome enſlaved more by her own fault than by the fault of her tyrants, and continue a tame ſpectator of ſuch ſcenes as ought not to have been heard of without horror.

The army of Brutus was now conſiderable; and he ordered its route into Aſia, while a fleet was preparing in Bithynia and at Cyzicum. As he marched by land, he ſettled the affairs of the cities, and gave audience to the princes of thoſe countries through which he paſſed. He ſent orders to Caſſius, who was in Syria, to give up his intended journey into Ægypt, and join him.—On this occaſion he tells him, that their collecting forces to deſtroy the tyrants was not to ſecure an empire to themſelves, but to deliver their fellow-citizens; that they ſhould never forget this great object of their undertaking, but, adhering to their firſt intentions, keep Italy within their eye, and haſten to reſcue their country from oppreſſion.

Caſſius accordingly ſet out to join him; and Brutus at the ſame time making ſome progreſs to meet him, their interview was at Smyrna. Till this meeting they had not ſeen each other ſince they parted at the Piraeus of Athens, when Caſſius ſet out for Syria, and Brutus for Macedonia. The forces they had reſpectively collected gave them great joy, and made them confident of ſucceſs. From Italy they had fled, like ſolitary exiles, without money, without arms, without a ſhip, a ſoldier, or a town to fly to; yet now, in ſo ſhort a time, they found themſelves ſupplied with ſhipping and money, with an army of horſe and foot, and in a condition of contending for the empire of Rome. Caſſius was no leſs reſpectful to Brutus than Brutus was to him; but the latter would generally wait upon him, as he was the older man, and of a feebler conſtitution. Caſſius was eſteemed an able ſoldier, but of a fiery diſpoſition, and ambitious to command rather by fear than affection;

tion; though at the ſame time, with his familiar acquaintance, he was eaſy in his manners, and fond of raillery to exceſs. Brutus, on account of his virtue, was reſpected by the people, beloved by his friends, admired by men of principle, and not hated even by his enemies. He was mild in his temper, and had a greatneſs of mind that was ſuperiot to anger, avarice, and the love of pleaſure. He was firm and inflexible in his opinions, and zealous in every purſuit where juſtice or honour were concerned. The people had the higheſt opinion of his integrity and ſincerity in every undertaking; and it naturally inſpired them with confidence and affection. Even Pompey the Great had hardly ever ſo much credit with them: for, who ever imagined, that, if he had conquered Cæſar, he would have ſubmitted to the laws, and would not have retained his power under the title of conſul or dictator, or ſome more ſpecious and popular name? Caſſius, on the contrary, a man of violent paſſions and rapacious avarice, was ſuſpected of expoſing himſelf to toil and danger, rather from a thirſt of power than an attachment to the liberties of his country. The former diſturbers of the commonwealth, Cinna, and Marius, and Carbo, evidently ſet their country as a ſtake for the winner, and hardly ſcrupled to own they fought for empire: but the very enemies of Brutus never charge him with this. Even Antony has been heard to ſay, that Butus was the only conſpirator who had the ſenſe of honour and juſtice for his motive; and that the reſt were wholly actuated by malice or envy. It is clear too, from what Brutus himſelf ſays, that he finally and principally relied on his own virtue. Thus he writes to Atticus immediately before an engagement, that, "His affairs "were in the moſt deſirable ſituation imaginable; "for, that he ſhould either conquer, and reſtore li- "berty to Rome, or die, and be free from ſlavery; "that every thing elſe was reduced to certainty; "and that this only remained a queſtion, Whether

"they

" they ſhould live, or die free men?" He adds, " that Mark Antony was properly puniſhed for his " folly; who, when he might have ranked with the " Bruti, the Caſſii, and Catos, choſe rather to be the " underling of Octavius; and that if they did not " fall in the approaching battle, they would very " ſoon be at variance with each other."—In which he ſeems to have been a true prophet.

Whilſt they were at Smyrna, Brutus deſired Caſſius to let him have part of the vaſt treaſure he had collected, becauſe his own was chiefly expended in equipping a fleet, to gain the ſuperiority at ſea. But the friends of Caſſius adviſed him againſt this; alledging, that it would be abſurd to give Brutus that money which he had ſaved with ſo much frugality, and acquired with ſo much envy, merely that Brutus might increaſe his popularity, by diſtributing it among the ſoldiers. Caſſius, however, gave him a third of what he had, and then they parted for their reſpective commands. Caſſius behaved with great ſeverity on the taking of Rhodes: though when he firſt entered the city, and was ſaluted with the title of king and maſter, he anſwered, that he was neither their king nor their maſter, but the deſtroyer of him who would have been both. Brutus demanded ſupplies of men and money from the Lycians; but Naucrates, an orator, perſuaded the cities to rebel; and ſome of the inhabitants poſted themſelves on the hills with an intention to oppoſe the paſſage of Brutus. Brutus, at firſt, diſpatched a party of horſe, which ſurprized them at dinner, and killed ſix hundred of them. But afterwards, when he had taken the adjacent towns and villages, he gave up the priſoners without ranſom, and hoped to gain them to his party by clemency. Their former ſufferings, however, made them reject his humanity; and thoſe that ſtill reſiſted being driven into the city of Xanthus, were there beſieged. As a river ran cloſe by the town, ſeveral attempted to eſcape by ſwimming and diving; but they were prevented

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by nets let down for that purpoſe, which had little bells at the top, to give notice when any one was taken. The Xanthians afterwards made a ſally in the night, and ſet fire to ſeveral of the battering engines; but they were perceived and driven back by the Romans: at the ſame time the violence of the wind drove the flames on the city, ſo that ſeveral houſes near the battlements took fire. Brutus being apprehenſive that the whole city would be deſtroyed, ſent his own ſoldiers to aſſiſt the inhabitants in quenching the fire. But the Lycians were ſeized with an incredible deſpair, a kind of frenzy, which can no otherwiſe be deſcribed than by calling it a paſſionate deſire of death. Women and children, freemen and ſlaves, people of all ages and conditions, ſtrove to repulſe the ſoldiers as they came to their aſſiſtance from the walls. With their own hands they collected wood and reeds, and all manner of combuſtibles, to ſpread the fire over the city, and encouraged its progreſs by every means in their power. Thus aſſiſted, the flames flew over the whole with dreadful rapidity; whilſt Brutus, extremely ſhocked at this calamity, rode round the walls, and ſtretching forth his hands to the inhabitants, intreated them to ſpare themſelves and their city. Regardleſs of his intreaties, they ſought by every means to put an end to their lives. Men, women, and even children, with hideous cries, leapt into the flames. Some threw themſelves headlong from the wall, and others fell upon the ſwords of their parents, opening their breaſts, and begging to be ſlain.

When the city was in a great meaſure reduced to aſhes, a woman was found who had hanged herſelf, with her young child faſtened to her neck, and the torch in her hand with which ſhe had fired her houſe. This deplorable object ſo much affected Brutus, that he wept when he was told of it, and proclaimed a reward to any ſoldier who could ſave a Xanthian. It is ſaid that no more than a hundred and fifty were

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preſerved; and thoſe againſt their will. Thus the Xanthians, as if fate had appointed certain periods for their deſtruction, after a long courſe of years ſunk into that deplorable ruin in which the ſame raſh deſpair had involved their anceſtors in the Perſian war; for they too burned their city, and deſtroyed themſelves.

After this, when the Patareans likewiſe made reſiſtance, Brutus was under great anxiety whether he ſhould beſiege them; for he was afraid they ſhould follow the deſperate meaſures of the Xanthians. However, having ſome of their women whom he had taken priſoners, he diſmiſſed them without ranſom; and thoſe returning to their huſbands and parents, who happened to be people of the firſt diſtinction, ſo much extolled the juſtice and moderation of Brutus, that they prevailed on them to ſubmit, and put their city into his hands. The adjacent cities followed their example, and found that his humanity exceeded their hopes. Caſſius compelled every Rhodian to give up all the gold and ſilver in his poſſeſſion; by which he amaſſed eight thouſand talents; and yet he laid the public under a fine of five hundred talents more; but Brutus took only a hundred and fifty talents of the Lycians, and, without doing them any other injury, led his army into Ionia.

Brutus, in the courſe of this expedition, did many acts of juſtice; and was vigilant in the diſpenſation of rewards and puniſhments. An inſtance of this I ſhall relate, becauſe both he himſelf, and every honeſt Roman, was particularly pleaſed with it. When Pompey the Great, after his overthrow at Pharſalia, fled into Egypt, and landed near Peluſiam, the tutors and miniſters of young Ptolemy conſulted what meaſures they ſhould take on the occaſion: but they were of different opinions. Some were for receiving him, others for excluding him from Egypt. Theodotus, a Chian by birth, and a teacher of rhetoric by profeſſion, who then attended the king in that capa-

city, was, for want of abler miniſters, admitted to the council. This man inſiſted that both were in the wrong; thoſe who were for receiving, and thoſe who were for expelling Pompey. The beſt meaſure they could take, he ſaid, would be to put him to death; and concluded his ſpeech with the proverb, that *dead men do not bite.* The council entered into his opinion; and Pompey the Great, an example of the incredible mutability of fortune, fell a ſacrifice to the arguments of a ſophiſt, as that ſophiſt lived afterwards to boaſt. Not long after, upon Cæſar's arrival in Egypt, ſome of the murderers received their proper reward, and were put to death; but Theodotus made his eſcape. Yet, though for a while he gained from fortune the poor privilege of a wandering and deſpicable life, he fell at laſt into the hands of Brutus, as he was paſſing through Aſia; and, by paying the forfeit of his baſeneſs, became more memorable from his death than from any thing in his life.

About this time Brutus ſent for Caſſius to Sardis, and went with his friends to meet him. The whole army being drawn up, ſaluted both the leaders with the title of *Imperator.* But, as it uſually happens in great affairs, where many friends and many officers are engaged, mutual complaints and ſuſpicions aroſe between Brutus and Caſſius. To ſettle theſe more properly, they retired into an apartment by themſelves. Expoſtulations, debates, and accuſations followed; and theſe were ſo violent, that they burſt into tears. Their friends without were ſurprized at the loudneſs and aſperity of theconference; but tho' they were apprehenſive of the conſequence, they durſt not interfere, becauſe they had been expreſsly forbidden to enter. Favonius, however, an imitator of Cato, but rather an enthuſiaſt than rational in his philoſophy, attempted to enter. The ſervants in waiting endeavoured to prevent him; but it was not eaſy to ſtop the impetuous Favonius. He was violent in his whole conduct, and valued himſelf

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leſs on his dignity as a ſenator than on a kind of cynical freedom in ſaying every thing he pleaſed; nor was this unentertaining to thoſe who could bear with his impertinence. However, he broke through the door, and entered the apartment, pronouncing, in a theatrical tone, what Neſtor ſays in Homer,

Young men be rul'd—I'm older than you both.

Caſſius laughed: but Brutus thruſt him out, telling him that he pretended to be a *cynic*, but was in reality a *dog*. This, however, put an end to the diſpute; and for that time they parted. Caſſius gave an entertainment in the evening, to which Brutus invited his friends. When they were ſeated, Favonius came in from bathing. Brutus called aloud to him, telling him he was not invited, and bade him go to the lower end of the table. Favonius, notwithſtanding, thruſt himſelf in and ſat down in the middle. On that occaſion there was much learning and good humour in the converſation.

The day following, one Lucius Pella, who had been praetor, and employed in offices of truſt, being impeached by the Sardians of embezzling the public money, was diſgraced and condemned by Brutus. This was very mortifying to Caſſius; for, a little before, two of his own friends had been accuſed of the ſame crime; but he had abſolved them in public, and, contenting himſelf with giving them a private reproof, continued them in office. Of courſe, he charged Brutus with too rigid an exertion of the laws, at a time when lenity was much more politic. Brutus, on the other hand, reminded him of the ides of March, the time when they had killed Cæſar; who was not, perſonally ſpeaking, the ſcourge of mankind, but only abetted and ſupported thoſe that were, with his power. He bade him conſider, that if the neglect of juſtice were in any caſe to be conniv-ed at, it ſhould have been done before; and that they

had better have borne with the oppreſſions of Cæſar's friends than ſuffered the mal-practices of their own to paſs with impunity: "for then," continued he, "we could have been blamed only for cowardice, "but now, after all we have undergone, we ſhall lie "under the imputation of injuſtice." Such were the principles of Brutus.

When they were about to leave Aſia, Brutus, it is ſaid, had an extraordinary apparition. Naturally watchful, ſparing in his diet, and aſſiduous in his buſineſs, he allowed himſelf but little time for ſleep. In the day he never ſlept, nor in the night, till all buſineſs was over; and, the reſt being retired, he had nobody to converſe with. But at this time, involved as he was in the operations of war, and ſolicitous for the event, he only ſlumbered a little after ſupper, and ſpent the reſt of the night in ordering his moſt urgent affairs. When theſe were diſpatched, he employed himſelf in reading till the third watch, when the tribunes and centurions came to him for orders. Thus, a little before he left Aſia, he was ſitting alone in his tent, by a dim light, and at a late hour. The whole army lay in ſleep and ſilence, while the general, wrapt in meditation, thought he perceived ſomething enter his tent: turning towards the door, he ſaw a horrible and monſtrous ſpectre ſtanding ſilently by his ſide. 'What art thou?' ſaid he, boldly, 'Art thou God or man? And what is thy buſineſs 'with me?' The ſpectre anſwered, "I am thy evil "genius, Brutus! Thou wilt ſee me at Philippi." To which he calmly replied, 'I'll meet thee there.' When the apparition was gone, he called his ſervants, who told him they had neither heard any noiſe, nor ſeen any viſion. That night he did not go to reſt, but went early in the morning to Caſſius, and told him what had happened. Caſſius, who was of the ſchool of Epicurus, and uſed frequently to diſpute with Brutus on theſe ſubjects, anſwered him thus: "It is the opinion of our ſect, that not every

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" thing we ſee is real; for matter is evaſive, and " ſenſe deceitful. Beſides, the impreſſions it receives " are, by the quick and ſubtle influence of imagi- " nation, thrown into a variety of forms, many of " which have no archetypes in nature; and this the " imagination effects as eaſily as we make an impreſ- " ſion on wax. The mind of man, having in itſelf " the plaſtic powers and the component parts, can " faſhion and vary its objects at pleaſure. This is " clear from the ſudden tranſition of dreams, in " which the imagination can educe from the ſlighteſt " principles ſuch an amazing variety of forms, and " call into exerciſe all the paſſions of the ſoul. The " mind is perpetually in motion, and that motion is " imagination, or thought. But when the body, as " in your caſe, is fatigued with labour, it naturally " ſuſpends, or perverts the regular functions of the " mind. Upon the whole, it is highly improbable " that there ſhould be any ſuch beings as dæmons " or ſpirits; or that, if there were ſuch, they ſhould " aſſume a human ſhape or voice, or have any power " to affect us. At the ſame time I own I could wiſh " there were ſuch beings, that we might not rely on " fleets and armies, but find the concurrence of the " gods in this our ſacred and glorious enterprize." Such were the arguments he made uſe of to ſatisfy Brutus.

When the army began to march, two eagles perched on the two firſt ſtandards, and accompanied them as far as Philippi, being conſtantly fed by the ſoldiers; but the day before the battle they flew away. Brutus had already reduced moſt of the nations in theſe parts; nevertheleſs he traverſed the ſea-coaſt over againſt Thaſus, that, if any hoſtile power remained, he might bring it into ſubjection. Norbanus, who was encamped in the ſtraits near Symbolum, they ſurrounded in ſuch a manner, that they obliged him to quit the place. Indeed, he narrowly eſcaped loſing his whole army, which had certain-

ly been the caſe, had not Antony come to his relief with ſuch amazing expedition, that Brutus could not believe it to be poſſible. Cæſar, who had been kept behind by ſickneſs, joined his army about ten days after. Brutus was encamped over-againſt him; Caſſius was oppoſite to Antony. The ſpace between the two armies the Romans call the Plains of Philippi. Two armies of Romans, equal in numbers to theſe, had never before met to engage each other. Cæſar's was ſomething ſuperior in numbers; but, in the ſplendor of arms and equipage, was far exceeded by that of Brutus; for moſt of their arms were of gold and ſilver, which their general had liberally beſtowed upon them. Brutus, in other things, had accuſtomed his officers to frugality; but the riches which his ſoldiers carried about with them, would at once, he thought, add to the ſpirit of the ambitious, and make the covetous valiant in the defence of thoſe arms, which were their principal wealth.

Cæſar made a luſtration of his army within the camp, and gave each private man a little corn, and five drachmas only for the ſacrifice. But Brutus, to ſhew his contempt of the poverty, or the avarice of Cæſar, made a public luſtration of his army in the field, and not only diſtributed cattle to each cohort for the ſacrifice, but gave fifty drachmas on the occaſion to each private man. Of courſe, he was more beloved by his ſoldiers; and they were more ready to fight for him. It is reported that, during the luſtration, an unlucky omen happened to Caſſius. The garland he was to wear at the ſacrifice was preſented to him the wrong ſide outwards. It is ſaid too, that at a ſolemn proceſſion, ſome time before, the perſon who bore the golden image of victory before Caſſius, happened to ſtumble, and the image fell to the ground. Several birds of prey hovered daily about the camp, and ſwarms of bees were ſeen within the trenches; upon which the ſoothſayers ordered the part where they appeared to be ſhut up: for Caſſius,

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with all his Epicurean philoſophy, began to be ſuperſtitious; and the ſoldiers were extremely diſheartened by theſe omens.

For this reaſon Caſſius was inclined to protract the war, and unwilling to hazard the whole on the event of a preſent engagement. What made for this meaſure too was, that they were ſtronger in money and proviſions, but inferior in numbers. Brutus, on the other hand, was, as uſual, for an immediate deciſion; that he might either give liberty to his country, or reſcue his fellow-citizens from the toils and expences of war. He was encouraged, likewiſe, by the ſucceſs his cavalry met with in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes; and ſome inſtances of deſertion and mutiny in the camp, brought over many of the friends of Caſſius to his opinion. But there was one Attellius, who ſtill oppoſed an immediate deciſion, and adviſed to put it off till the next winter. When Brutus aſked him what advantages he expected from that, he anſwered, "If "I gain nothing elſe, I ſhall, at leaſt, live ſo much "the longer." Both Caſſius and the reſt of the officers were diſpleaſed with this anſwer, and it was determined to give battle the day following.

Brutus, that night, expreſſed great confidence and cheerfulneſs; and having paſſed the time of ſupper in philoſophical converſation, he went to reſt. Meſſala ſays, that Caſſius ſupped in private with ſome of his moſt intimate friends; and that, contrary to his uſual manner, he was penſive and ſilent. He adds, that, after ſupper, he took him by the hand, and preſſing it cloſe, as he commonly did, in token of his friendſhip, he ſaid in Greek—"Bear witneſs, Meſſala, "that I am reduced to the ſame neceſſity with Pom-"pey the Great, of hazarding the liberty of my "country on one battle. Yet I have confidence in "our good fortune, on which we ought ſtill to rely, "though the meaſures we have reſolved upon are "indiſcreet." Theſe, Meſſala tells us, were the laſt words that Caſſius ſpoke before he bade him *fare-*

well; and that the next day, being his birth-day, he invited Caſſius to ſup with him.

Next morning, as ſoon as it was light, the ſcarlet robe, which was the ſignal for battle, was hung out in the tents of Brutus and Caſſius; and they themſelves met on the plain between the two armies. On this occaſion, Caſſius thus addreſſed himſelf to Brutus:— 'May the Gods, Brutus, make this day ſucceſsful, that we may paſs the reſt of our days together in proſperity. But as the moſt important of human events are the moſt uncertain; and as we may never ſee each other any more, if we are unfortunate on this occaſion, tell me what is your reſolution concerning flight and death?'

Brutus anſwered, "In the younger and leſs experienced part of my life, I was led, upon philoſophical principles, to condemn the conduct of Cato in killing himſelf. I thought it at once impious and unmanly to ſink beneath the ſtroke of fortune, and to refuſe the lot that had befallen us. In my preſent ſituation, however, I am of a different opinion. So that if Heaven ſhould now be unfavourable to our wiſhes, I will no longer ſolicit my hopes or my fortune, but die contented with it, ſuch as it is. On the ides of March I devoted my life to my country, and ſince that time I have lived in liberty and glory." At theſe words Caſſius ſmiled, and embracing Brutus, ſaid, 'Let us march then againſt the enemy; for, with theſe reſolutions, though we ſhould not conquer, we have nothing to fear.' They then conſulted with their friends concerning the order of battle. Brutus deſired that he might command the right wing, though the poſt was thought more proper for Caſſius, on account of his experience. Caſſius, however, gave it up to him, and placed Meſſala, with the beſt of his legions, in the ſame wing. Brutus immediately drew out his cavalry, which were equipped with great

great magnificence; and the foot followed close upon them.

Antony's soldiers were at this time employed in making a trench from the marsh where they were encamped, to cut off Cassius's communication with the sea. Cæsar lay still in his tent, confined by sickness. His soldiers were far from expecting that the enemy would come to a pitched battle: they supposed they were only making excursions to harrass the trench-diggers with their light arms; and not perceiving that they were pouring in close upon them, they were astonished at the outcry they heard from the trenches. Brutus, in the mean time, sent tickets to the several officers with the word of battle, and rode through the ranks to encourage his men. There were few who had patience to wait for the word. The greatest part, before it could reach them, fell with loud shouts upon the enemy. This precipitate onset threw the army into confusion, and separated the legions. Messala's legion first got beyond the left wing of Cæsar, and was followed by those that were stationed near him. In their way they did nothing more than throw some of the outmost ranks into disorder, and kill a few of the enemy; their great object was to fall upon Caesar's camp; and they made directly up to it. Caesar himself, as he tells us in his Commentaries, had but just before been conveyed out of his tent, in consequence of a vision of his friend Artorius, which commanded that he should be carried out of the camp. This made it believed that he was slain; for the soldiers had pierced his empty litter in many places with darts. Those who were taken in the camp were put to the sword; amongst whom were two thousand Lacedaemonian auxiliaries. Those who attacked Caesar's legions in front easily put them to the route, and cut three legions in pieces. After this, borne along with the impetuosity of victory, they rushed into the camp at the same time with the fugitives, and Brutus was in the midst of them.

them. The flank of Brutus's army was now left unguarded, by the ſeparation of the right wing, which was gone off too far in the purſuit; and the enemy perceiving this, endeavoured to take advantage of it. They accordingly attacked it with great fury, but could make no impreſſion on the main body, which received them with firmneſs and unſhaken reſolution. The left wing, however, which was under the command of Caſſius, was ſoon put to the route; for the men were in great diſorder, and knew nothing of what had paſſed in the right wing. The enemy purſued him into the camp, which they plundered and deſtroyed, though neither of their generals were preſent. Antony, it is ſaid, to avoid the fury of the firſt onſet, had retired into the adjoining marſh; and Caeſar, who had been carried ſick out of the camp, was nowhere to be found. Nay, ſome of the ſoldiers would have perſuaded Brutus that they had killed Caeſar; deſcribing his age and perſon, and ſhewing him their bloody ſwords.

The main body of Brutus's army had now made prodigious havock of the enemy; and Brutus, in his department, was no leſs abſolutely conqueror than Caſſius was conquered. The want of knowing this was the ruin of their affairs. Brutus neglected to relieve Caſſius, becauſe he knew not that he wanted relief.

When Brutus had deſtroyed the camp of Caeſar, and was returning from the purſuit, he was ſurpriſed that he could neither perceive the tent of Caſſius above the reſt, as uſual, nor any of thoſe that were about it; for they had been demoliſhed by the enemy on their firſt entering the camp. Some, who were of quicker ſight than the reſt, told him that they could perceive a motion of ſhining helmets and ſilver targets in the camp of Caſſius, and ſuppoſed, from their numbers and their armour, that they could not be thoſe who were left to guard the camp; though at the ſame time there was not ſo great an appearance

of

of dead bodies as there muſt have been after the defeat of ſo many legions. This gave Brutus the firſt ſuſpicion of Caſſius's misfortune; and, leaving a ſufficient guard in the enemy's camp, he called off the reſt from the purſuit, and led them in order, to the relief of Caſſius.

The caſe of that general was this:—He was chagrined, at firſt, by the irregular conduct of Brutus's ſolders, who began the attack without waiting for the command; and, afterwards, by their attention to plunder, whereby they neglected to ſurround and cut off the enemy. Thus diſſatisfied, he triſled with his command, and, for want of vigilance, ſuffered himſelf to be ſurrounded by the enemy's right wing; upon which his cavalry quitted their poſt, and fled towards the ſea. The foot, likewiſe, began to give way; and, though he laboured as much as poſſible to ſtop their flight, and ſnatching an enſign from the hands of one of the fugitives, fixed it at his feet, yet he was hardly able to keep his own Praetorian band together; ſo that, at length, he was obliged to retire, with a very ſmall number, to a hill that overlooked the plain. Yet here he could diſcover nothing; for he was ſhort-ſighted, and it was with ſome difficulty that he could perceive his own camp plundered. His companions, however, ſaw a large detachment of horſe, which Brutus had ſent to their relief, making up to them. Theſe Caſſius concluded to be the enemy that were in purſuit of him; notwithſtanding which, he diſpatched Titinius to reconnoitre them. When the cavalry of Brutus ſaw this faithful friend of Caſſius approach, they ſhouted for joy. His acquaintance leapt from their horſes to embrace him, and the reſt rode round him with claſhing of arms, and all the clamorous expreſſions of gladneſs. This circumſtance had a fatal effect. Caſſius took it for granted that Titinius was ſeized by the enemy, and regretted that, through a weak deſire of life, he had ſuffered his friend to fall into their hands. When he had expreſſed himſelf

himſelf to this effect, he retired into an empty tent, accompanied only by his freedman Pindarus, whom, ever ſince the defeat of Craſſus, he had retained for a particular purpoſe. In that defeat he eſcaped out of the hands of the Parthians; but now, wrapping his robe about his face, he laid bare his neck, and commanded Pindarus to cut off his head. This was done; for his head was found ſevered from the body; but whether Pindarus did it by his maſter's command, has been ſuſpected; becauſe he never afterwards appeared. It was ſoon diſcovered who the cavalry were; and Titinius, crowned with garlands, came to the place where he had left Caſſius. When the lamentations of his friends informed him of the unhappy fate of his general, he ſeverely reproached himſelf for the tardineſs which had occaſioned it, and fell upon his ſword.

Brutus, when he was aſſured of the defeat of Caſſius, made all poſſible haſte to his relief; but he knew nothing of his death till he came up to his camp. There he lamented over his body, and called him *The laſt of Romans*; intimating that Rome would never produce another man of equal ſpirit. He ordered his funeral to be celebrated at Thaſus, that it might not occaſion any diſorder in the camp. His diſperſed and dejected ſoldiers he collected and encouraged; and as they had been ſtripped of every thing by the enemy, he promiſed them two thouſand drachmas a man. This munificence at once encouraged and ſurpriſed them: they attended him at his departure with great acclamations, and complimented him as the only general of the four who had not been beaten. Brutus was confident of victory, and the event juſtified that confidence; for, with a few legions, he overcame all that oppoſed him; and if moſt of his ſoldiers had not paſſed the enemy, in purſuit of plunder, the battle muſt have been deciſive in his favour. He loſt eight thouſand men, including the ſervants, whom he calls *Briges*. Meſſala ſays, he ſuppoſes the enemy loſt

loſt more than twice that number; and, of courſe, they were more diſcouraged than Brutus, till Demetrius, a ſervant of Caſſius, went over to Antony in the evening, and carried him his maſter's robe and ſword, which he had taken from the dead body. This ſo effectually encouraged the enemy, that they were drawn up in form of battle by break of day. Both camps, in the occupation of Brutus, involved him in difficulties. His own, full of priſoners, required a ſtrong guard. At the ſame time, many of the ſoldiers of Caſſius murmured at their change of maſter; and the vanquiſhed were naturally envious and jealous of the victors. He, therefore, thought proper to draw up his army, but not to fight.

All the ſlaves he had taken priſoners, being found practiſing with his ſoldiers, were put to the ſword; but moſt of the freemen and citizens were diſmiſſed; and he told them at the ſame time, that they were more truly priſoners in the hands of the enemy than in his; with them, he ſaid, they were ſlaves indeed; but with him freemen and citizens of Rome. He was obliged, however, to diſmiſs them privately; for they had implacable enemies amongſt his own friends and officers. Amongſt the priſoners were Volumnius, a mimic; and Saculio, a buffoon; of whom Brutus took no notice till they were brought before him, and accuſed of continuing, even in their captivity, their ſcurrilous jeſts and abuſive language. Yet ſtill taken up with more important concerns, he paid no regard to the accuſation; but Maſſala Corvinus was of opinion that they ſhould be publicly whipped, and ſent naked to the enemy, as proper aſſociates and convivial companions for ſuch generals. Some were entertained with the idea, and laughed; but Publius Caſca, the firſt that wounded Cæſar, obſerved, that it was indecent to celebrate the obſequies of Caſſius with jeſting and laughter. "As "for you, Brutus," ſaid he, "it will be ſeen what "eſteem you have for the memory of that gene-

"ral,

" ral, when you have either puniſhed or pardoned " thoſe who ridicule and revile him." Brutus reſented this expoſtulation, and ſaid, ' Why is this ' buſineſs thrown upon me, Caſca! Why do not ' you do what you think proper?' This anſwer was conſidered as an aſſent to their death; ſo the poor wretches were carried off and ſlain.

He now gave the promiſed rewards to his ſoldiers; and after gently rebuking them for beginning the aſſault without waiting for the word of battle, he promiſed, that if they acquitted themſelves to his ſatisfaction in the next engagement, he would give them up the cities of Lacedaemon and Theſſalonica to plunder. This is the only circumſtance in his life for which no apology can be made. For, though Antony and Cæſar afterwards acted with more unbounded cruelty in rewarding their ſoldiers; though they deprived moſt of the ancient inhabitants of Italy of their lands, and gave them to thoſe who had no title to them; yet they acted conſiſtently with their firſt principle, which was the acquiſition of empire and arbitrary power. But Brutus maintained ſuch a reputation for virtue, that he was neither allowed to conquer, nor even to ſave himſelf, except on the ſtricteſt principles of honour and juſtice; more particularly ſince the death of Caſſius, to whom, if any act of violence was committed, it was generally imputed. However, as ſailors, when their rudder is broken in a ſtorm, ſubſtitute ſome other piece of wood in its place; and though they cannot ſteer ſo well as before, do the beſt they can in their neceſſity; ſo Brutus, at the head of ſo vaſt an army, and ſuch important affairs, unaſſiſted by any officer that was equal to the charge, was obliged to make uſe of ſuch adviſers as he had; and he generally followed the council of thoſe who propoſed any thing that might bring Caſſius's ſoldiers to order: for theſe were extremely untractable; inſolent in the camp for want

of

of their general, though cowardly in the field, from the remembrance of their defeat.

The affairs of Cæſar and Antony were not in a much better condition. Proviſions were ſcarce, and the marſhy ſituation of their camp made them dread the winter. They already began to fear the inconveniences of it; for the autumnal rains had fallen heavy after the battle, and their tents were filled with mire and water; which, from the coldneſs of the weather, immediately froze. In this ſituation, they received intelligence of their loſs at ſea. Their fleet, which was coming from Italy with a large ſupply of ſoldiers, was met by that of Brutus, and ſo totally defeated, that the few who eſcaped were reduced by famine to eat the ſails and tackle of the ſhips. It was now determined, on Cæſar's ſide, that they ſhould come to battle before Brutus was made acquainted with his ſucceſs. It appears that the fight, both by ſea and land, was on the ſame day; but, by ſome accident, rather than the fault of his officers, Brutus knew nothing of his victory till twenty days after. Had he been informed of it, he would never, certainly, have hazarded a ſecond battle; for he had proviſions ſufficient for a conſiderable length of time; and his army was ſo advantageouſly poſted, that it was ſafe both from the injuries of the weather and the incurſions of the enemy. Beſides, knowing that he was wholly maſter at ſea, and partly victorious by land, he would have had every thing imaginable to encourage him; and could not have been urged to any dangerous meaſures by deſpair.

But it ſeems that the republican form of government was no longer to ſubſiſt in Rome; that it neceſſarily required a monarchy; and that providence, to remove the only man who could oppoſe its deſtined maſter, kept the knowledge of that victory from him till it was too late. And yet, how near was he to receiving the intelligence! The very evening before the engagement, a deſerter, named Clodius,

Clodius, came over from the enemy to tell him that Cæſar was informed of the loſs of his fleet, and that this was the reaſon of his haſtening the battle. The deſerter, however, was conſidered either as deſigning or ill-informed; his intelligence was diſregarded; and he was not even admitted into the preſence of Brutus.

That night, they ſay, the ſpectre appeared again to Brutus, and aſſumed its former figure, but vaniſhed without ſpeaking. Yet Publius Volumnius, a philoſophical man, who had borne arms with Brutus during the whole war, makes no mention of this prodigy; though he ſays that the firſt ſtandard was covered with a ſwarm of bees; and that the arm of one of the officers ſweated oil of roſes, which would not ceaſe though they often wiped it off. He ſays, too, that immediately before the battle, two eagles fought in the ſpace between the two armies; and that there was an incredible ſilence and attention in the field, till that on the ſide of Brutus was beaten and flew away. The ſtory of the Ethiopian is well known, who, meeting the ſtandard-bearer opening the gate of the camp, was cut in pieces by the ſoldiers; for *that* they interpreted as an ill omen.

When Brutus had drawn up his army in form of battle, he pauſed ſome time before he gave the word. While he was viſiting the ranks, he had ſuſpicions of ſome, and heard accuſations of others. The cavalry he found had no ardour for the attack, but ſeemed waiting to ſee what the foot would do. Beſides, Camulatus, a ſoldier in the higheſt eſtimation for valour, rode cloſe by Brutus, and went over to the enemy in his ſight. This hurt him inexpreſſibly; and partly out of anger, partly from fear of further deſertion and treachery, he led his forces againſt the enemy, about three in the afternoon. Where he fought in perſon, he was ſtill ſucceſsful. He charged the enemy's left wing, and the cavalry following the impreſſion which the foot had made, it was put to the

route.

route. But when the other wing of Brutus was ordered to advance, the inferiority of their numbers made them apprehenſive that they ſhould be ſurrounded by the enemy. For this reaſon they extended their ranks, in order to cover more ground; by which means the centre of the wing was ſo much weakened, that it could not ſuſtain the ſhock of the enemy, but fled at the firſt onſet. After their diſperſion, the enemy ſurrounded Brutus, who did every thing that the braveſt and moſt expert general could do in his ſituation, and whoſe conduct at leaſt entitled him to victory. But what ſeemed an advantage in the firſt engagement, proved a diſadvantage in the ſecond. In the former battle, that wing of the enemy which was conquered was totally cut off; but moſt of the men in the conquered wing of Caſſius were ſaved *. This, at the time, might appear an advantage, but it proved a prejudice. The remembrance of their former defeat, filled them with terror and confuſion, which they ſpread through the greateſt part of the army.

Marcus, the ſon of Cato, was ſlain fighting amidſt the braveſt of the young nobility. He ſcorned alike either to fly or to yield; but, avowing who he was, and aſſuming his father's name, ſtill uſed his ſword, till he fell upon the heaps of the ſlaughtered enemy. Many other brave men, who expoſed themſelves for the preſervation of Brutus, fell at the ſame time.

Lucilius, a man of great worth, and his intimate friend, obſerved ſome barbarian horſe riding full ſpeed againſt Brutus in particular, and was determined to ſtop them, though at the hazard of his own life. He, therefore, told them, that he was Brutus; and they believed him, becauſe he pretended to be

* There is no defect in the original, as the former tranſlator imagines. He ſuppoſed the defeat of Caſſius's ſoldiers to be in the preſent, and not in the former battle. This led him into the difficulty, which he increaſed by tranſlating πλεον ισχυ victory, inſtead of advantage.

afraid of Cæſar, and deſired to be conveyed to Antony. Exulting in their capture, and thinking themſelves peculiarly fortunate, they carried him along with them by night, having previouſly ſent an account to Antony of their ſucceſs; who was infinitely pleaſed with it, and came out to meet them. Many others, likewiſe, when they heard that Brutus was brought alive, aſſembled to ſee him. And ſome pitied his misfortunes, while others accuſed him of an inglorious meanneſs, in ſuffering the love of life to betray him into the hands of barbarians. When he approached, and Antony was deliberating in what manner he ſhould receive Brutus, Lucilius firſt addreſſed him, and, with great intrepidity, ſaid, "Antony, be aſſured that Brutus neither is, nor "will be taken by an enemy. Forbid it, Heaven, "that fortune ſhould have ſuch a triumph over "virtue! Whether he ſhall be found alive or dead, "he will be found in a ſtate becoming Brutus. I "impoſed on your ſoldiers, and am prepared to ſuf-"fer the worſt you can inflict upon me." Thus ſpoke Lucilius, to the no ſmall aſtoniſhment of thoſe that were preſent. When Antony, addreſſing himſelf to thoſe that brought him, ſaid, 'I perceive, 'fellow-ſoldiers, that you are angry at this impoſi-'tion of Lucilius:—But you have really got a bet-'ter booty than you intended. You ſought an 'enemy; but you have brought me a friend. I 'know not how I ſhould have treated Brutus, had 'you brought him alive: but I am ſure that it is 'better to have ſuch a man as Lucilius for a friend 'than for an enemy.' When he had ſaid this, he embraced Lucilius, recommending him to the care of one of his friends; and he ever after found him faithful to his intereſt.

Brutus, attended by a few of his officers and friends, having paſſed a brook that was overhung with cliffs and ſhaded with trees, and being overtaken by night, ſtopped in a cavity under a large rock.

There,

There, caſting his eyes on the heavens, which were covered with ſtars, he repeated two verſes; one of which, Volumnius tells us, was this:

Forgive not, Jove, the cauſe of this diſtreſs *.

The other, he ſays, had eſcaped his memory. Upon enumerating the ſeveral friends that had fallen before his eyes in the battle, he ſighed deeply at the mention of Flavius and Labeo; the latter of whom was his lieutenant, and the former maſter of the band of artificers. In the mean while one of his attendants being thirſty, and obſerving Brutus in the ſame condition, took his helmet, and went to the brook for water. At the ſame time a noiſe was heard on the oppoſite bank, and Volumnius, and Dardanus the armour-bearer, went to ſee what it was. In a ſhort time they returned, and aſked for the water: "It is all drank up," ſaid Brutus, with a ſmile; "but another helmet-full ſhall be fetched." The man who had brought the firſt water was, therefore, ſent again; but he was wounded by the enemy, and made his eſcape with difficulty.

As Brutus ſuppoſed that he had not loſt many men in the battle, Statilius undertook to make his way through the enemy (for there was no other way) and ſee in what condition their camp was. If things were ſafe there, he was to hold up a torch for a ſignal, and return. He got ſafe to the camp; for the torch was held up. But a long time elapſed, and he did not return. "If Statilius were alive," ſaid Brutus, "he would be here." In his return, he fell into the enemy's hands, and was ſlain.

The night was now far ſpent; when Brutus, leaning his head towards his ſervant Clitus, whiſpered ſomething in his ear. Clitus made no anſwer, but burſt into tears. After that, he took his armour-

* Euripides, *Medea*.

bearer Dardanus aſide, and ſaid ſomething to him in private. At laſt, addreſſing himſelf to Volumnius in Greek, he intreated him, in memory of their common ſtudies and exerciſes, to put his hand to his ſword, and help him to give the thruſt. Volumnius, as well as ſeveral others, refuſed: and one of them obſerving that they muſt neceſſarily fly; "We muſt "fly, indeed," ſaid Brutus, riſing haſtily; "but not "with our feet, but with our hands." He then took each of them by the hand, and ſpoke with great appearance of cheerfulneſs to the following purpoſe: "It is an infinite ſatisfaction to me, that all my "friends have been faithful. If I am angry with "fortune, it is for the ſake of my country. Myſelf "I eſteem more happy than the conquerors; not "only in reſpect of the paſt, but in my preſent "ſituation. I ſhall leave behind me that reputation "for virtue which they, with all their wealth and "power, will never acquire. For poſterity will not "ſcruple to believe and declare, that they were "an abandoned ſet of men, who deſtroyed the vir-"tuous for the ſake of that empire to which they "had no right." After this he intreated them ſeverally to provide for their own ſafety; and withdrew with only two or three of his moſt intimate friends. One of theſe was Strato, with whom he firſt became acquainted when they ſtudied rhetoric. This friend he placed next to himſelf, and laying hold of the hilt of his ſword with both his hands, he fell upon the point and died. Some ſay that Strato, at the earneſt requeſt of Brutus, turned aſide his head, and held the ſword; upon which he threw himſelf with ſuch violence, that, entering at his breaſt, it paſſed quite through his body, and he immediately expired.

Meſſala, the friend of Brutus, after he was reconciled to Cæſar, took occaſion to recommend Strato to his favour. "This," ſaid he, with tears, "is "the man who did the laſt kind office for my dear "Brutus."

" Brutus." Cæſar received him with kindneſs; and he was one of thoſe brave Greeks who afterwards attended him at the battle of Actium. Of Meſſala, it is ſaid, that when Cæſar obſerved he had been no leſs zealous in his ſervice at Actium than he had been againſt him at Philippi, he anſwered, " I have " always taken the beſt and juſteſt ſide." When Antony found the body of Brutus, he ordered it to be covered with the richeſt robe he had; and that being ſtolen, he put the thief to death. The aſhes of Brutus he ſent to his mother Servilia.

With regard to Porcia his wife, Nicolaus the philoſopher, and Valerius Maximus *, tell us, that being prevented from that death ſhe wiſhed for, by the conſtant vigilance of her friends, ſhe ſnatched ſome burning coals from the fire, and ſhut them cloſe in her mouth, till ſhe was ſuffocated. Notwithſtanding, there is a letter from Brutus to his friends ſtill extant, in which he laments the death of Porcia; and complains that their neglect of her muſt have made her prefer death to the continuance of her illneſs: ſo that Nicolaus appears to have been miſtaken in the time, at leaſt, if this epiſtle be authentic; for it deſcribes Porcia's diſtemper, her conjugal affection, and the manner of her death.

* Valerius Maximus ſpeaks of her fortitude, on this occaſion, in the higheſt terms. " Tuos quoque caſtiſſimos Ignes, Portia, " *M. Catonis* filia, cuncta ſecula debita admiratione proſequen- " tur: Quæ cum apud *Philippos* victum et interemptum virum " tuum Brutum cognoſcere, quia ferrum non dabatur, ardentes " ore Carbones, haurire non dubitaſti, muliebri ſpiritu virilem " patris exitum imitata. Sed neſcio an hoc fortius, quod ille " uſitato, tu novo genere mortis abſumpta es!"

Val. Max. l. iv. c. 6.

DION and BRUTUS COMPARED.

WHAT is principally to be admired in the lives of Dion and Brutus, is their riſing to ſuch importance from inconſiderable beginnings. But here Dion has the advantage; for, in the progreſs of glory, he had no coadjutor: whereas Caſſius went hand in hand with Brutus; and though, in the reputation of virtue and honour he was by no means his equal; in military experience, reſolution, and activity, he was not inferior. Some have imputed to him the origin of the whole enterprize, and have aſſerted, that Brutus would never, otherwiſe, have engaged in it. But Dion, at the ſame time that he made the whole military preparations himſelf, engaged the friends and aſſociates of his deſign. He did not, like Brutus, gain power and riches from the war; he employed that wealth on which he was to ſubſiſt as an exile in a foreign country, in reſtoring the liberties of his own. When Brutus and Caſſius fled from Rome, and found no aſylum from the purſuit of their enemies, their only reſource was war; and they took up arms as much in their own defence as in that of the common liberty. Dion, on the contrary, was happier in his baniſhment, than the tyrant that baniſhed him; and yet he voluntarily expoſed himſelf to danger for the freedom of Sicily. Beſides, to deliver the Romans from Cæſar, and the Syracuſans from Dionyſius, were enterprizes of a very different kind. Dionyſius was an avowed and eſtabliſhed tyrant; and Sicily, with reaſon, groaned beneath his yoke. But with reſpect to Cæſar, though, whilſt his imperial power was in its infancy, he treated his opponents with ſeverity; yet, as ſoon as that power was confirmed, the tyranny was rather a nominal than a real thing; for no tyrannical action could be laid to his charge. Nay, ſuch was the condition

dition of Rome, that it evidently required a maſter; and Cæſar was no more than a tender and ſkilful phyſician, appointed by Providence to heal the diſtempers of the ſtate. Of courſe the people lamented his death, and were implacably enraged againſt his aſſaſſins. Dion, on the contrary, was reproached by the Syracuſans for ſuffering Dionyſius to eſcape, and not digging up the former tyrant's grave.

With regard to their military conduct, Dion, as a general, was without a fault: he not only made the moſt of his own inſtructions, but, where others failed, he happily repaired the error. But it was wrong in Brutus to hazard a ſecond battle, where all was at ſtake *. And when that battle was loſt, he had neither ſagacity enough to think of new reſources, nor ſpirit, like Pompey, to contend with fortune, though he had ſtill reaſon to rely on his troops, and was abſolute maſter at ſea.

But what Brutus is chiefly blamed for, was his ingratitude to Cæſar. He owed his life to his favour, as well as the lives of thoſe priſoners for whom he interceded. He was treated as his friend, and diſtinguiſhed with particular marks of honour; and yet he embrued his hands in the blood of his benefactor. Dion ſtands clear of any charge like this. As a relation of Dionyſius, he aſſiſted and was uſeful to him in the adminiſtration; in which caſe his ſervices were equal to his honours. When he was driven into exile, and deprived of his wife and his fortune, he had every motive that was juſt and honourable to take up arms againſt him.

Yet if this circumſtance is conſidered in another light, Brutus will have the advantage. The greateſt glory of both conſiſts in their abhorrence of tyrants, and their criminal meaſures. This, in Brutus, was not blended with any other motive. He had no quarrel with Cæſar; but expoſed his life for the

* This cenſure ſeems very unjuſt. The wavering diſpoſition of Caſſius's troops obliged him to come to a ſecond engagement.

liberty of his country. Had not Dion been injured, he had not fought. This is clear from Plato's epiſtles; where it appears that he was baniſhed from the court of Dionyſius; and in conſequence of that baniſhment made war upon him. For the good of the community, Brutus, though an enemy to Pompey, became his friend; and though a friend to Cæſar, he became his enemy. His enmity and his friendſhip aroſe from the ſame principle, which was juſtice. But Dion, whilſt in favour, employed his ſervices for Dionyſius; and it was not till he was diſgraced that he armed againſt him. Of courſe, his friends were not quite ſatisfied with his enterprize. They were apprehenſive that when he had deſtroyed the tyrant, he might ſeize the government himſelf, and amuſe the people with ſome ſofter title than that of tyranny. On the other hand, the very enemies of Brutus acknowledged, That he was the only conſpirator who had no other view than that of reſtoring the ancient form of government.

Beſides, the enterprize againſt Dionyſius cannot be placed in competition with that againſt Cæſar. The former had rendered himſelf contemptible by his low manners, his drunkenneſs, and debauchery. But to meditate the fall of Cæſar, and not tremble at his dignity, his fortune, or his power,—not ſhrink at that name which ſhook the kings of India and Parthia on their thrones, and diſturbed their ſlumbers — this ſhewed a ſuperiority of ſoul, on which fear could have no influence. Dion was no ſooner ſeen in Sicily than he was joined by thouſands; but the authority of Cæſar was ſo formidable in Rome, that it ſupported his friend even after he was dead: and a ſimple boy roſe to the firſt eminence of power by adopting his name; which ſerved as a charm againſt the envy and the influence of Antony. Should it be objected that Dion had the ſharpeſt conflicts in expelling the tyrant, but that Cæſar fell naked and unguarded beneath the ſword of Brutus, it will

will argue at leaſt a conſummate management of prudence to be able to come at a man of his power, naked and unguarded; particularly, when it is conſidered that the blow was not ſudden, nor the work of one, or of a few men, but meditated, and communicated to many aſſociates, of whom not one deceived the leader: for either he had the power of diſtinguiſhing honeſt men at the firſt view, or ſuch as he choſe, he made honeſt by the confidence he repoſed in them. But Dion confided in men of bad principles; ſo that he muſt either have been injudicious in his choice, or, if his people grew worſe after their appointments, unſkilful in his management. Neither of theſe can be conſiſtent with the talents and conduct of a wiſe man; and Plato, accordingly, blames him in his letters, for making choice of ſuch friends as, in the end, were his ruin.

Dion found no friend to revenge his death; but Brutus received an honourable interment, even from his enemy, Antony; and Cæſar allowed of that public reſpect which was paid to his memory, as will appear from the following circumſtance:—A ſtatue of braſs had been erected to him at Milan, in Gallia Ciſalpina, which was a fine performance, and a ſtriking likeneſs. Cæſar, as he paſſed through the town, took notice of it, and ſummoning the magiſtrates, in the preſence of his attendants, he told them, that they had broken the league, by harbouring one of his enemies. The magiſtrates, as may well be ſuppoſed, denied it; and ſtared at each other, profoundly ignorant what enemy he could mean. He then turned towards the ſtatue, and knitting his brows, ſaid, "Is not this my enemy that ſtands "here?" The poor Milaneſe were ſtruck dumb with aſtoniſhment; but Cæſar told them, with a ſmile, that he was pleaſed to find them faithful to their friends in adverſity; and ordered that the ſtatue ſhould continue where it was.

AR-

ARTAXERXES.

THE firſt Artaxerxes, who of all the Perſian kings was moſt diſtinguiſhed for his moderation and greatneſs of mind, was ſurnamed *Longimanus*, becauſe his right hand was longer than his left. He was the ſon of Xerxes. The ſecond Artaxerxes, ſurnamed *Mnemon* *, whoſe life we are going to write, was ſon to the daughter of the firſt: for Darius, by his wife Paryſatis, had four ſons; Artaxerxes the eldeſt, Cyrus the ſecond, and Oſtanes and Oxathres the two younger. Cyrus was called after the ancient king of that name, as he is ſaid to have been after the ſun; for the Perſians call the ſun *Cyrus*. Artaxerxes at firſt was named † Arſicas, though Dinon aſſerts that his original name was ‡ Oartes. But though Cteſias has filled his books with a number of incredible and extravagant fables, it is not probable that he ſhould be ignorant of the name of a king at whoſe court he lived, in quality of phyſician to him, his wife, his mother, and his children.

Cyrus, from his infancy, was of a violent and impetuous temper; but Artaxerxes had a native mildneſs, ſomething gentle and moderate in his whole diſpoſition. The latter married a beautiful and virtuous lady, by order of his parents; and he kept her when they wanted him to put her away. For the

* So called on account of his extraordinary memory.

† Or *Arſaces*.

‡ Or Oarſes.

king

king having put her brother to death*, deſigned that ſhe ſhould ſhare his fate. But Arſicas applied to his mother with many tears and intreaties, and, with much difficulty, prevailed upon her, not only to ſpare her life, but to excuſe him from divorcing her. Yet his mother had the greater affection for Cyrus, and was deſirous of raiſing him to the throne: therefore, when he was called from his reſidence on the coaſt in the ſickneſs of Darius, he returned full of hopes that the queen's intereſt had eſtabliſhed him ſucceſſor. Paryſatis had, indeed, a ſpecious pretence, which the ancient Xerxes had made uſe of, at the ſuggeſtion of Demaratus, that ſhe had brought Darius his ſon Arſicas when he was in a private ſtation, but Cyrus when he was a king. However,

* Teriteuchmes, the brother of Statira, had been guilty of the complicated crimes of adultery, inceſt, and murder; which raiſed great diſturbances in the royal family, and ended in the ruin of all who were concerned in them. Statira was daughter to Hydarnes, governor of one of the chief provinces of the empire. Artaxerxes, then called Arſaces, was charmed with her beauty, and married her. At the ſame time Teriteuchmes, her brother, married Hameſtris, one of the daughters of Darius, and ſiſter to Arſaces; by reaſon of which marriage he had intereſt enough, on his father's demiſe, to get himſelf appointed to his government. But in the mean time he conceived a paſſion for his own ſiſter Roxana, no ways inferior to Statira in beauty; and that he might enjoy her without conſtraint, reſolved to diſpatch his wife Hameſtris, and light up the flames of rebellion in the kingdom. Darius being apprized of his deſign, engaged Udiaſtes, an intimate friend of Teriteuchmes, to kill him; and was rewarded by the king with the government of his province. Upon this, ſome commotions were raiſed by the ſon of Teriteuchmes; but, the king's forces having the ſuperiority, all the family of Hydarnes were apprehended, and delivered to Paryſatis, that ſhe might execute her revenge upon them for the injury done, or intended, to her daughter. That cruel princeſs put them all to death, except Statira, whom ſhe ſpared at the earneſt intreaties of her huſband Arſaces, contrary to the opinion of Darius. But Arſaces was no ſooner ſettled upon the throne, than Statira prevailed upon him to leave Udiaſtes to her correction; and ſhe put him to a death too cruel to be deſcribed. Paryſatis, in return, poiſoned the ſon of Teriteuchmes; and, not long after, Statira herſelf. CTES. in Perſ.

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ſhe could not prevail. Darius appointed his eldeſt ſon his ſucceſſor; on which occaſion his name was changed to Artaxerxes. Cyrus had the government of Lydia, and was to be commander in chief on the coaſt.

Soon after the death of Darius, the king, his ſucceſſor, went to Paſargadae, in order to be conſecrated, according to cuſtom, by the prieſts of Perſia. In that city there is the temple of a goddeſs, who has the affairs of war under her patronage, and, therefore, may be ſuppoſed to be Minerva. The prince to be conſecrated muſt enter that temple, put off his own robe there, and take that which was worn by the Great Cyrus before he was king. He muſt eat a cake of figs, chew ſome turpentine, and drink a cup of acidulated milk. Whether there are any other ceremonies is unknown, except to the perſons concerned. As Artaxerxes was on the point of going to be conſecrated, Tiſſaphernes brought to him a prieſt, who had been chief inſpector of Cyrus's education in his infancy, and had inſtructed him in the learning of the *Magi*; and therefore might be ſuppoſed to be as much concerned as any man in Perſia, at his pupil's not being appointed king: for that reaſon his accuſation againſt Cyrus could not but gain credit. He accuſed him of a deſign to lie in wait for the king in the temple, and, after he had put off his garment, to fall upon him and deſtroy him. Some affirm, that Cyrus was immediately ſeized upon this information; others, that he got into the temple, and concealed himſelf there, but was pointed out by the prieſt: in conſequence of which he was to be put to death; but his mother at that moment took him in her arms, bound the treſſes of her hair about him, held his neck to her own, and by her tears and intreaties prevailed to have him pardoned, and remanded to the ſea-coaſt. Nevertheleſs, he was far from being ſatisfied with his government. Inſtead of thinking of his brother's fa-

favour with gratitude, he remembered only the indignity of chains; and in his reſentment aſpired more than ever after the ſovereignty.

Some, indeed, ſay, that he thought his allowance for his table inſufficient, and therefore revolted from his king. But this is a fooliſh pretext: for if he had no other reſource, his mother would have ſupplied him with whatever he wanted, out of her revenues. Beſides, there needs no greater proof of his riches than the number of foreign troops that he entertained in his ſervice, which were kept for him in various parts by his friends and retainers; for, the better to conceal his preparations, he did not keep his forces in a body, but had his emiſſaries in different places, who inliſted foreigners on various pretences. Meanwhile his mother, who lived at court, made it her buſineſs to remove the king's ſuſpicions: and Cyrus himſelf always wrote in a lenient ſtyle; ſometimes begging a candid interpretation, and ſometimes recriminating upon Tiſſaphernes, as if his contention had been ſolely with that grandee. Add to this, that the king had a dilatory turn of mind, which was natural to him, and which many took for moderation. At firſt, indeed, he ſeemed entirely to imitate the mildneſs of the firſt Artaxerxes, whoſe name he bore, by behaving with great affability to all that addreſſed him, and diſtributing honours and rewards to perſons of merit with a laviſh hand. He took care that puniſhments ſhould never be embittered with inſult. If he received preſents, he appeared as well pleaſed as thoſe who offered them, or rather as thoſe who received favours from him; and in conferring favours, he always kept a countenance of benignity and pleaſure. There was not any thing, however trifling, brought him by way of preſent, which he did not receive kindly. Even when one Omiſus brought him a pomegranate of uncommon ſize, he ſaid, "By the light of Mithra, this man, if he were made

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" governor of a ſmall city, would ſoon make it a " great one." When he was once upon a journey, and people preſented him with a variety of things by the way, a labouring man, having nothing elſe to give him, ran to the river and brought him ſome water in his hands. Artaxerxes was ſo much pleaſed, that he ſent the man a gold cup, and a thouſand *Darics*. When Euclidas, the Lacedaemonian, ſaid many inſolent things to him, he contented himſelf with ordering the captain of his guard to give him this anſwer, " You may ſay what you pleaſe to the " king; but the king would have you to know, " that he can not only ſay, but do." One day, as he was hunting, Tiribazus ſhewed him a rent in his robe: upon which the king ſaid, " What ſhall I do " with it?" ' Put on another, and give that to me,' ſaid Tiribazus. " It ſhall be ſo," ſaid the king: " I give it thee; but I charge thee not to wear it." Tiribazus, who, though not a bad man, was giddy and vain, diſregarding the reſtriction, ſoon put on the robe, and at the ſame time tricked himſelf out with ſome golden ornaments, fit only for queens. The court expreſſed great indignation, becauſe it was a thing contrary to their laws and cuſtoms: but the king only laughed, and ſaid to him, " I allow " thee to wear the trinkets as a woman, and the robe " as a madman."

None had been admitted to the king of Perſia's table but his mother and his wife; the former of whom ſat above him, and the latter below him: Artaxerxes, nevertheleſs, did that honour to Oſtanes and Oxathres, two of his younger brothers. But what afforded the Perſians the moſt pleaſing ſpectacle, was the queen Statira always riding in her chariot with the curtains open, and admitting the women of the country to approach and ſalute her. Theſe things made his adminiſtration popular. Yet there were ſome turbulent and factious men, who repreſented that the affairs of Perſia required a king of ſuch a magnificent

nificent ſpirit, ſo able a warrior, and ſo generous a maſter as Cyrus was; and that the dignity of ſo great an empire could not be ſupported without a prince of high thoughts and noble ambition. It was not, therefore, without a confidence in ſome of the Perſians, as well as in the maritime provinces, that Cyrus undertook the war.

He wrote alſo to the Lacedaemonians for aſſiſtance; promiſing that to the foot he would give horſes, and to the horſemen chariots: that on thoſe who had farms he would beſtow villages, and on thoſe who had villages, cities. As for their pay, he aſſured them it ſhould not be counted, but meaſured out to them. At the ſame time he ſpoke in very high terms of himſelf, telling them he had a greater and more princely heart than his brother; that he was the better philoſopher, better inſtructed in the doctrines of the magi, and that he could drink and bear more wine than his brother. Artaxerxes, he ſaid, was ſo timorous and effeminate a man, that he could not ſit a horſe in hunting, nor a chariot in time of war. The Lacedaemonians, therefore, ſent the *Scytale* to Clearchus, with orders to ſerve Cyrus in every thing he demanded *.

Cyrus began his march againſt the king with a numerous army † of barbarians, and almoſt thirteen thouſand Greek mercenaries ‡. He found one pre-

* They took care not to mention Artaxerxes, pretending not to be privy to the deſigns that were carrying on againſt him. This precaution they uſed, that in caſe Artaxerxes ſhould get the better of his brother, they might juſtify themſelves to him in what they had done. XENOPH. de Expedit. Cyri, l. i.

† A hundred thouſand barbarians.

‡ Clearchus, the Lacedaemonian, commanded all the Peloponneſian troops, except the Achaeans, who were led by Socrates of Achaia. The Boeotians were under Proxenes, a Theban; and the Theſſalians under Menon. The other nations were commanded by Perſian generals, of whom Ariacus was the chief. The fleet conſiſted of thirty-five ſhips, under Pythagoras, a Lacedaemonian; and twenty-five commanded by Tamos, an Egyptian, who was admiral of the whole fleet. On this occaſion, Proxenes preſented Xenophon to Cyrus, who gave him a commiſſion amongſt the Greek mercenaries.

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tence after another for having ſuch an armament on foot; but his real deſigns did not remain long undiſcovered; for Tiſſaphernes went in perſon to inform the king of them.

This news put the court in great diſorder. Paryſatis was cenſured as the principal cauſe of this war, and her friends were ſuſpected of a private intelligence with Cyrus. Statira, in her diſtreſs about the war, gave Paryſatis the moſt trouble. "Where is "now," ſhe cried, "that faith which you pledged? "Where your interceſſions, by which you ſaved the "man that was conſpiring againſt his brother? "Have they not brought war, and all its calamities, "upon us?" Theſe expoſtulations fixed in the heart of Paryſatis, who was naturally vindictive and barbarous in her reſentment and revenge, ſuch a hatred of Statira, that ſhe contrived to take her off. Dinon writes, that this cruel purpoſe was put in execution during the war: but Cteſias aſſures us, it was after it. And it is not probable that he, who was an eye-witneſs to the tranſactions of that court, could either be ignorant of the time when the aſſaſſination took place, or could have any reaſon to miſrepreſent the date of it; though he often deviates into fictitious tales, and loves to give us invention inſtead of truth We ſhall, therefore, leave this ſtory to the order of time in which he has placed it.

While Cyrus was upon his march, he had accounts brought him that the king did not deſign to try the fortune of the field by giving battle immediately, but to wait in Perſia till his forces were aſſembled there from all parts of his kingdom. And though he had drawn a trench acroſs the plain ten fathom wide, as many deep *, and four hundred

* Xenophon ſays, this trench was only five fathom wide, and three deep. It muſt be obſerved that the word ὀργυια ſometimes ſignifies a *place* only; and if it be underſtood ſo here, it will bring Plutarch's account more within the bounds of probability.

furlongs

furlongs in length, yet he ſuffered Cyrus to paſs him, and to march almoſt to Babylon *. Tiribazus, we are told, was the firſt who ventured to remonſtrate to the king, that he ought not any longer to avoid an action, nor to abandon Media, Babylon, and even Suſa, to the enemy, and hide himſelf in Perſia; ſince he had an army infinitely greater than theirs, and ten thouſand *Satrapae*, and other officers, all of them ſuperior to thoſe of Cyrus, both in courage and conduct.

Upon this, he took a reſolution to come to action as ſoon as poſſible. His ſudden appearance with an army of nine hundred thouſand men, well prepared and accoutred, extremely ſurprized the rebels, who, through the confidence they had in themſelves, and contempt of their enemy, were marching in great confuſion, and even without their arms; ſo that it was with great difficulty that Cyrus reduced them to any order; and he could not do it at laſt without much noiſe and tumult. As the king advanced in ſilence, and at a ſlow pace, the good diſcipline of his troops afforded an aſtoniſhing ſpectacle to the Greeks, who expected amongſt ſuch a multitude nothing but diſorderly ſhouts and motions, and every other inſtance of diſtraction and confuſion. He ſhewed his judgment, too, in placing the ſtrongeſt of his armed chariots before that part of his phalanx which was oppoſite to the Greeks, that by the impetuoſity of their motion they might break the enemy's ranks before they came to cloſe combat.

Many hiſtorians have deſcribed this battle; but Xenophon has done it with ſuch life and energy, that we do not read an account of it; we ſee it; and feel all the danger. It would be very abſurd, therefore, to attempt any thing after him, except the mentioning ſome material circumſtances which he has omitted.

* There was a paſſage twenty feet wide left between the trench and the Euphrates, and Artaxerxes neglected to defend it.

The place where the battle was fought is called Cunaxa, and is five hundred furlongs from Babylon. A little before the action, Clearchus adviſed Cyrus to poſt himſelf behind the Macedonians *, and not riſque his perſon; upon which he is reported to have ſaid, "What advice is this, Clearchus? "Would you have me, at the very time I am aim- "ing at a crown, ſhew myſelf unworthy of one?" Cyrus, indeed, committed an error in ruſhing into the midſt of the greateſt danger without care or caution: but Clearchus was guilty of another as great, if not greater, in not conſenting to place his Greeks oppoſite to the king, and in getting the river on his right, to prevent his being ſurrounded; for, if ſafety was his principal object, and he was by all means to avoid loſs, he ought to have ſtayed at home. But to carry his arms ten thouſand furlongs from the ſea, without neceſſity or conſtraint, and ſolely with a view to place Cyrus on the throne of Perſia, and then not to be ſolicitous for a poſt where he might beſt defend the prince whoſe pay he received, but for one in which he might act moſt at eaſe and in the greateſt ſafety, was to behave like a man who, on the ſight of preſent danger, abandons the whole enterprize, and forgets the purpoſe of his expedition. For it appears from the courſe of the action, that if the Greeks had charged thoſe that were poſted about the king's perſon, they would not have ſtood the ſhock; and after Artaxerxes had been ſlain, or put to flight, the conqueror muſt have gained the crown without further interruption. Therefore, the ruin of Cyrus's affairs, and his death, is much rather to be aſcribed to the caution of Clearchus than to his own raſhneſs. For, if the king himſelf had been to chuſe a poſt for the Greeks, where they might do him the leaſt prejudice, he could not have pitched

* This is undoubtedly the error of ſome tranſcriber; and for *Macedonians* we ſhould read Lacedaemonians.

upon

upon a better than that which was moſt remote from himſelf, and the troops about him. At the diſtance he was from Clearchus, he knew not of the defeat of that part of his army which was near the river; and Cyrus was cut off before he could avail himſelf of the advantage gained by the Greeks. Cyrus, indeed, was ſenſible what diſpoſition would have been of moſt ſervice to him, and for that reaſon ordered Clearchus to charge in the centre; but Clearchus ruined all, notwithſtanding his aſſurances of doing every thing for the beſt: for the Greeks beat the barbarians with eaſe, and purſued them a conſiderable way.

In the mean time, Cyrus being mounted on *Paſacas*, a horſe of great ſpirit, but at the ſame time head-ſtrong and unruly, fell in, as Cteſias tells us, with Artageraſes, general of the Caduſians, who met him upon the gallop, and called out to him in theſe terms: "Moſt unjuſt and moſt ſtupid of men, who "diſgraceſt the name of Cyrus, the moſt auguſt "of all names among the Perſians, thou leadeſt "theſe brave * Greeks a vile way to plunder thy "country, and to deſtroy thy brother and thy king, "who has many millions of ſervants that are better "men than thou. Try if he has not; and here "thou ſhalt loſe thy head before thou canſt ſee "the face of the king." So ſaying, he threw his javelin at him with all his force; but his cuiraſs was of ſuch excellent temper, that he was not wounded, though the violence of the blow ſhook him in his ſeat. Then, as Artageraſes was turning his horſe, Cyrus aimed a ſtroke at him with his ſpear, and the point of it entered at his collar-bone, and pierced through his neck. That Artageraſes fell by the

* Probably καλως has been a miſtake of the tranſcriber for κακως. Then it will be κακως μεν Ἑλληνας ἐρχῃ κακην ὁδον ἀγων, *Thou leadeſt the vile Greeks a vile way, &c.*

hand of Cyrus, almoſt all hiſtorians agree. As to the death of Cyrus himſelf, ſince Xenophon has given a very ſhort account of it, becauſe he was not on the ſpot when it happened, perhaps it may not be amiſs to give the manner of it in detail, as Dinon and Cteſias have repreſented it.

Dinon tells us, that Cyrus, after he had ſlain Artagerſes, charged the vanguard of Artaxerxes with great fury, wounded the king's horſe, and diſmounted him. Tiribazus immediately mounted him on another horſe, and ſaid, "Sir, remember this day; "for it deſerves not to be forgotten." At the ſecond attack, Cyrus ſpurred his horſe againſt the king, and gave him a wound*: at the third, Artaxerxes, in great indignation, ſaid to thoſe who were by, "It "is better to die than to ſuffer all this." At the ſame time he advanced againſt Cyrus, who was raſhly advancing to meet a ſhower of darts. The king wounded him with his javelin, and others did the ſame. Thus fell Cyrus, as ſome ſay, by the blow which the king gave him: but, according to others, it was a Carian ſoldier who diſpatched him, and who afterwards, for his exploit, had the honour of carrying a golden cock, at the head of the army, on the point of his ſpear. For the Perſians called the Carians cocks, on account of the creſts with which they adorned their helmets.

Cteſias's ſtory is very long, but the purport of it is this: When Cyrus had ſlain Artagerſes, he puſhed his horſe up towards the king, and the king advanced againſt him; both in ſilence. Ariacus, one of the friends of Cyrus, firſt aimed a blow at the king, but did not wound him. Then the king threw his javelin at Cyrus, but miſſed him; the weapon,

* Or, *with the violence of the encounter, beat the king from his horſe.* In the original it is ωσεισας τῳ ἱππῳ κατεβαλε τον Αρταξερξην.

however,

however, did execution upon Tiſſaphernes *, a man of approved valour, and a faithful ſervant to Cyrus. It was now Cyrus's turn to try his javelin; it pierced the king's cuiraſs, and going two fingers deep into his breaſt, brought him from his horſe. This cauſed ſuch diſorder in his troops, that they fled: but the king recovering, retired with a few of his men, among whom was Cteſias, to an eminence not far off, and there repoſed himſelf. In the mean time, Cyrus's horſe, grown more furious by the action, carried him deep amongſt the enemy; and as night was coming on, they did not know him; and his own men ſought for him in vain. Elated, however, with victory, and naturally daring and impetuous, he kept on, crying out in the Perſian language as he went, "Make way, ye ſlaves, make way." They humbled themſelves, and opened their ranks: but his tiara happened to fall from his head; and a young Perſian, named Mithridates, in paſſing, wounded him with his lance in the temple near his eye, without knowing who he was. Such a quantity of blood iſſued from the wound, that he was ſeized with a giddineſs, and fell ſenſeleſs from his horſe. The horſe, having loſt his rider, wandered about the field; the furniture too was fallen off, and the ſervant of Mithridates, who had given him the wound, took it up, all ſtained with blood.

At laſt Cyrus, with much difficulty, began to recover from his ſwoon; and a few eunuchs, who attended him, endeavoured to mount him on another horſe, and ſo to carry him out of danger. But as he was too weak to ſit a horſe, he thought it better to walk; and the eunuchs ſupported him as he went. His head was ſtill heavy, and he tottered at every

* *Tiſſaphernes* is probably an erroneous reading. We know of no Tiſſaphernes but the grandee of that name, who was a faithful ſervant to Artaxerxes. One of the manuſcripts gives us *Satiphernes*.

ſtep; yet he imagined himſelf victorious, becauſe he heard the fugitives calling Cyrus king, and imploring mercy.

At that inſtant, ſome Caunians of mean condition, who performed the moſt ſervile offices for the royal army, happened to mix with the company of Cyrus as friends. They perceived, however, though not without difficulty, that the clothing of his people was red, whereas that given by the king, their maſter, was white. One of theſe then ventured to give Cyrus a ſtroke with his ſpear, behind, without knowing him to be the prince. The weapon hit his ham, and cut the ſinew; upon which he fell, and in falling, daſhed his wounded temple againſt a ſtone, and died upon the ſpot. Such is Cteſias's ſtory of the death of Cyrus; which, like a blunt weapon, hacks and hews him a long time, and can hardly kill him at laſt.

Soon after Cyrus expired, an officer, who was called *the King's Eye*, paſſed that way. Artaſyras (for that was his name) knowing the eunuchs, who were mourning over the corpſe, addreſſed him who appeared to be moſt faithful to his maſter, and ſaid, 'Pariſcas, who is that whom thou art lamenting ſo 'much?' "O Artaſyras!" anſwered the eunuch, "ſee you not prince Cyrus dead?" Artaſyras was aſtoniſhed at the event: however, he deſired the eunuch to compoſe himſelf, and take care of the corpſe; and then rode at full ſpeed to Artaxerxes, who had given up all for loſt, and was ready to faint, both with thirſt and with the anguiſh of his wound. In theſe circumſtances the officer found him, and with a joyful accent hailed him in theſe words, "I "have ſeen Cyrus dead." The king, at firſt, was impatient to ſee the dead body himſelf, and commanded Artaſyras immediately to conduct him to it. But finding all the field full of terror and diſmay, upon a report that the Greeks, victorious in their quarter, were purſuing the fugitives, and put-

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ting all to the ſword, he thought proper to ſend out a greater number to reconnoitre the place which Artaſyras had told him of. Accordingly thirty men went with flambeaux in their hands. Still the king was almoſt dying with thirſt, and the eunuch Satibarzanes ſought every place for water; for the field afforded none, and they were at a great diſtance from the camp. After much ſearch, he found one of thoſe poor Caunians had about two quarts of bad water in a mean bottle, and he took it and carried it to the king. After the king had drank it all up, the eunuch aſked him, 'If he did not find it a diſ-'agreeable beverage?' Upon which he ſwore by all the gods, "That he had never drank the moſt de-"licious wine, nor the lighteſt and cleareſt water, "with ſo much pleaſure. I wiſh only," continued he, "that I could find the man who gave it thee, "that I might make him a recompenſe. In the "mean time, I intreat the gods to make him happy "and rich."

While he was ſpeaking, the thirty men whom he had ſent out, returned in great exultation, and confirmed the news of his unexpected good fortune. Now, likewiſe, numbers of his troops repaired to him again; and, diſmiſſing his fears, he deſcended from the eminence, with many torches carried before him. When he came to the dead body, according to the laws of the Perſians, the right hand and the head were cut off; and having ordered the head to be brought to him, he took it by the hair, which was long and thick, and ſhewed it to the fugitives, and to ſuch as were ſtill doubtful of the fortune of the day. They were aſtoniſhed at the ſight, and proſtrated themſelves before him. Seventy thouſand men ſoon aſſembled about him, and with them he returned to his camp. Cteſias tells us, he had led four hundred thouſand men that day into the field; but Dinon and Xenophon make that number much greater. As to the number of the killed, Cteſias

ſays, an account only of nine thouſand was brought to Artaxerxes; whereas there appeared to Cteſias himſelf to be no fewer than twenty thouſand. That article, therefore, muſt be left dubious. But nothing can be a more palpable falſity than what Cteſias adds, that he was ſent ambaſſador to the Greeks, in conjunction with Phayllus the Zacynthian, and ſome others: for Xenophon knew that Cteſias was at the Perſian court; he mentions him in his works, and it is plain that he had met with his books. Therefore, if he had been joined in commiſſion to ſettle ſuch important affairs, he would not have paſſed him by unnoticed, but would have mentioned him with Phayllus. Cteſias, indeed, was a man of unbounded vanity, as well as ſtrong attachment to Clearchus; and for that reaſon always leaves a corner in the ſtory for himſelf, when he is dreſſing out the praiſes of Clearchus and the Lacedaemonians.

After the battle, the king ſent great and valuable preſents to the ſon of Artagerſes, who was ſlain by Cyrus. He rewarded alſo Cteſias, and others, in a diſtinguiſhed manner; and having found the Caunian, who gave him the bottle of water, he raiſed him from indigence and obſcurity to riches and honours. There was ſomething of an analogy between his puniſhments and the crime. One Arbaces, a Mede, in the battle deſerted to Cyrus; and, after that prince was killed, came back to his colours. As he perceived that the man had done it rather out of cowardice than any treaſonable deſign, all the penalty he laid upon him, was to carry about a naked courtezan upon his ſhoulders a whole day in the market place. Another, beſide deſerting, had given it out that he had killed two of the enemy; and for his puniſhment he only ordered his tongue to be pierced through with three needles.

He ſuppoſed, and he was deſirous of having it paſs upon the world, that Cyrus fell by his hand. This induced him to ſend valuable preſents to Mithridates,

who

who gave him the firſt wound, and to inſtruct the meſſengers to ſay, "The king does you this ho-"nour, becauſe you found the furniture of Cyrus's "horſe, and brought it to him." And when the Carian, who gave Cyrus the ſtroke in his ham that cauſed his death, aſked for his reward, he ordered thoſe who gave it him to ſay, "The king beſtows "this upon you, becauſe you were the ſecond per-"ſon that brought him good tidings. For Artaſy-"ras was the firſt, and you the next, that brought "him an account of the death of Cyrus." Mithridates went away in ſilence, though not without concern. But the unhappy Carian could not conquer the common diſeaſe of vanity. Elated with what he thought his good fortune, and aſpiring to things above his walk in life, he would not receive his reward for tidings, but angrily inſiſted, and called the gods and men to witneſs, that he, and no other man, killed Cyrus; and that it was not juſt to rob him of the glory.

The king was ſo much incenſed at this, that he ordered the man's head to be cut off. But his mother Paryſatis being preſent, ſaid, "Let not this vil-"lainous Carian go off ſo: leave him to me, and "he ſhall have the reward which his audacious "tongue deſerves." Accordingly the king gave him up to her, and ſhe delivered him to the executioners, with orders to torture him for ten days, and then to tear out his eyes, and pour molten braſs into his ears, till he expired.

Mithridates alſo came to a miſerable end ſoon after, through his own folly. Being invited one evening to ſupper, where both the eunuchs of the king and thoſe of his mother were preſent, he went in a robe embroidered with gold, which he had received from the king. During the entertainments, Paryſatis's principal eunuch took occaſion to ſay, "What a beautiful garment is this, Mithridates, "which the king has given you! How handſome "are thoſe bracelets and that chain! How valuable

"your

" your ſcymitar! He has certainly made you not " only a great, but a happy man." Mithridates, who by this time was fluſhed with wine, made anſwer, ' What are theſe things, Sparamixes? I ' deſerve much greater marks of honour than theſe, ' for the ſervices I rendered the king that day.' Then Sparamixes replied, with a ſmile, " I ſpeak " not in the leaſt out of envy; but ſince, according " to the Greek proverb, there is truth in wine, let " me tell you my mind freely, and aſk you what " great matter it is to find a horſe's furniture fallen " off, and bring it to the king?" This he ſaid, not that he was ignorant of the real ſtate of the caſe; but becauſe he wanted to lay him open, and ſaw that the wine had made him talkative, and taken him off his guard, he ſtudied to pique his vanity. Mithridates, no longer maſter of himſelf, ſaid, ' You may ' talk of what furniture and what trifles you pleaſe; ' but I tell you plainly, it was by this hand that ' Cyrus was ſlain. For I did not, like Artagerſes, ' throw my javelin in vain, but pierced his temples ' near the eye, and brought him to the ground; ' and of that wound he died.' The reſt of the company ſaw the dreadful fate that would befal Mithridates, and looked with dejected eyes upon the ground; but he who gave the entertainment ſaid, " Let us now attend to our eating and drinking; " and adoring the fortune of the king, let ſuch mat- " ters alone as are too high for us."

Immediately after the company broke up, the eunuch told Paryſatis what had been ſaid; and ſhe informed the king. Artaxerxes, like a perſon detected, and one who had loſt a victory out of his hands, was enraged at this diſcovery: for he was deſirous of making all the barbarians and Greeks believe, that in the ſeveral encounters he both gave and received blows; and, that though he was wounded himſelf, he killed his adverſary. He therefore condemned Mithridates to the puniſh-

ment

ment of *the Boat.* The manner of it is this: They take two boats, which are made to fit each other, and extend the criminal in one of them in a ſupine poſture. Then they turn the other upon it, ſo that the poor wretch's body is covered, and only the head and hands are out at one end, and the feet at the other. They give him victuals daily; and if he refuſes to eat, they compel him, by pricking him in the eyes. After he has eaten, they make him drink a mixture of honey and milk, which they pour into his mouth. They ſpread the ſame, too, over his face, and always turn him ſo as to have the ſun full in his eyes; the conſequence of which is, that his face is covered with ſwarms of flies. As all the neceſſary evacuations of a man who eats and drinks are within the boat, the filthineſs and corruption engender a quantity of worms, which conſume his fleſh, and penetrate to his entrails. When they find that the man is dead, they take off the upper boat, and have the ſpectacle of a carcaſe whoſe fleſh is eaten away, and of numberleſs vermin clinging to and gnawing the bowels. Mithridates with much difficulty found death, after he had been conſumed in this manner for ſeventeen days.

There remained now no other mark for the vengeance of Paryſatis, but Meſabates, one of the king's eunuchs, who cut off Cyrus's head and hand. As he took care to give her no handle againſt him, ſhe laid this ſcheme for his deſtruction. She was a woman of keen parts in all reſpects, and in particular ſhe played well at dice. The king often played with her before the war; and being reconciled to her after it, took the ſame diverſion with her. She was even the confidante of his pleaſures, and ſcrupled not to aſſiſt him in any thing of gallantry.

Statira, indeed, was the object of her hatred, and ſhe let her have a very ſmall ſhare of the king's company; for ſhe was determined to have the principal intereſt with him herſelf. One day, finding Artaxerxes

wanted

wanted ſomething to paſs away the time, ſhe challenged him to play for a thouſand *darics*; and purpoſely managed her dice ſo ill, that ſhe loſt. She paid the money immediately, but pretended to be much chagrined, and called on him to play again for an eunuch. He conſented to the propoſal; and they agreed each of them to except five of their moſt faithful eunuchs; the winner was to have the choice out of the reſt. On theſe conditions they played. The queen, who had the affair at heart, exerted all her ſkill; and being favoured beſides by the dice, won the eunuch, and pitched upon Meſabates, who was not of the number of the excepted. He was immediately delivered to her, and before the king ſuſpected any thing of her intentions, ſhe put him in the hands of the executioners, with orders to flay him alive, to fix his body on three ſtakes, and to ſtretch out his ſkin by itſelf. The king was highly incenſed, and expreſſed his reſentment in ſtrong terms: but ſhe only ſaid, in a laughing ironical way, "This is pleaſant indeed, that you muſt be ſo angry "about an old uſeleſs eunuch, while I ſay not a "word of my loſs of a thouſand *darics*." The king, though much concerned at the impoſition, held his peace. But Statira, who on other occaſions openly cenſured the practices of the queen-mother, complained now of her injuſtice and cruelty, in ſacrificing to Cyrus the eunuchs and other faithful ſervants of the king.

After Tiſſaphernes* had deceived Clearchus, and the other Grecian officers, and, contrary to the treaty and his oaths, put them in chains; Cteſias tells us, that Clearchus made intereſt with him for the

* Tiſſaphernes, by promiſes which he did not intend to keep, drew Clearchus to an interview in his tent. He went with four principal officers, and twenty captains, to wait on the Perſian, who put Clearchus and the four officers under arreſt, and ordered the twenty captains to be cut in pieces. Some time after, the king commanded Clearchus, and all the four officers, except Menon, to be beheaded. XENOPH. de Exped. Cyri. l. ii.

recovery

recovery of a comb. When he had obtained it, it ſeems he was ſo much pleaſed with the uſe of it, that he took his ring from his finger, and gave it Cteſias, that it might appear as a token of his regard for him to his friends and relations in Lacedaemon. The device was a dance of the *Caryatides**. He adds, that whenever proviſions were ſent to Clearchus, his fellow-priſoners took moſt of them for themſelves, and left him a very ſmall ſhare: but that he corrected this abuſe, by procuring a larger quantity to be ſent to Clearchus, and ſeparating the allowance of the others from his. All this (according to our author) was done with the conſent, and by the favour of Paryſatis. As he ſent every day a gammon of bacon among the proviſions, Clearchus ſuggeſted to him, that he might eaſily conceal a ſmall dagger in the fleſhy part, and begged earneſtly that he would do it, that his fate might not be left to the cruel diſpoſition of Artaxerxes; but, through fear of the king's diſpleaſure, he refuſed it. The king, however, at the requeſt of his mother, promiſed, upon oath, not to put Clearchus to death; but afterwards he was perſuaded, by Statira, to deſtroy all the priſoners, except Menon. On this account, he tells us, Paryſatis plotted againſt Statira, and reſolved to take her off by poiſon. But it is a great abſurdity in Cteſias to aſſign ſo diſproportionate a cauſe. Would Paryſatis, for the ſake of Clearchus, undertake ſo horrid and dangerous an enterprize as that of poiſoning the king's lawful wife, by whom he had children and an heir to his crown? It is clear enough, that he tells this fabulous tale to do honour to the memory of Clearchus: for he adds, That the carcaſes of the other officers were torn in pieces by

* Carya was a town in Laconia, where there was a temple of Diana. Indeed, the whole town was dedicated to Diana and her nymphs. In the court, before the temple, ſtood a ſtatue of *Diana Caryatis*; and the Spartan virgins kept a yearly feſtival, on which they danced round it.

dogs

dogs and birds; but that a ſtorm of wind brought a great heap of ſand, and provided a tomb for Clearchus. Around this heap there ſprang up a number of palm-trees, which ſoon grew into an admirable grove, and ſpread their protecting ſhade over the place; ſo that the king repented greatly of what he had done, believing that he had deſtroyed a man who was a favourite of the gods.

It was, therefore, only from the hatred and jealouſy which Paryſatis had entertained of Statira from the firſt, that ſhe embarked in ſo cruel a deſign. She ſaw that her own power with the king depended only on his reverence for her as his mother; whereas that of Statira was founded in love, and confirmed by the greateſt confidence in her fidelity. The point ſhe had to carry was great, and ſhe reſolved to make one deſperate effort. She had a faithful and favourite attendant, named Gigis, who, as Dinon tells us, aſſiſted in the affair of the poiſon; but, according to Cteſias, ſhe was only conſcious to it, and that againſt her will. The former calls the perſon who provided the poiſon, Melantas; the latter, Belitaras.

Theſe two princeſſes had, in appearance, forgotten their old ſuſpicions and animoſities, and began to viſit and eat at each other's table. But they did it with ſo much diſtruſt and caution, as to make it a rule to eat off the ſame diſh, and even of the ſame ſlices. There is a ſmall bird in Perſia, which has no excrements, the inteſtines being only filled with fat; on which account it is ſuppoſed to live upon air and dew; the name of it is *Rhyntaces*. Cteſias writes, that Paryſatis divided one of theſe birds with a ſmall knife that was poiſoned on one ſide; and taking the wholeſomer part herſelf, gave the other to Statira. Dinon, however, affirms, that it was not Paryſatis, but Melantas, who cut the bird in two, and preſented the poiſoned part to Statira. Be that as it may, ſhe died in dreadful agonies and convulſions; and was not only

only ſenſible herſelf of the cauſe, but intimated her ſuſpicions to the king, who knew too well the ſavage and implacable temper of his mother: he, therefore, immediately made an inquiſition into the affair. He took her officers and ſervants that attended at her table, and put them to the torture. But ſhe kept Gigis in her own apartment; and when the king demanded her, refuſed to give her up. At laſt Gigis begged of the queen-mother to let her go in the night to her own houſe; and the king being informed of it, ordered ſome of his guards to intercept her. Accordingly ſhe was ſeized, and condemned to die. The laws of Perſia have provided this puniſhment for poiſoners: their heads are placed on a broad ſtone, and then cruſhed with another, till nothing of the figure remains. In that manner was Gigis executed. As for Paryſatis, the king did not reproach her with her crime, nor puniſh her any farther than by ſending her to Babylon (which was the place ſhe deſired to retire to) and declaring that he would never viſit that city while ſhe lived. Such was the ſtate of his domeſtic affairs.

He was no leſs ſolicitous to get the Greeks into his hands who had followed Cyrus into Aſia, than he had been to conquer Cyrus himſelf, and to keep the crown: but he could not ſucceed *; for although they had loſt Cyrus their general, and their own

* The Greeks were at a vaſt diſtance from their own country, in the very heart of the Perſian empire, ſurrounded by a numerous army, fluſhed with victory; and had no way to return again into Greece, but by forcing their retreat through an immenſe tract of the enemy's country. But their valour and reſolution maſtered all theſe difficulties, and, in ſpite of a powerful army which purſued and haraſſed them all the way, they made a retreat of two thouſand three hundred and twenty-five miles, through the provinces belonging to the Perſians, and got ſafe to the Greek cities on the Euxine ſea. Clearchus had the conduct of this march at firſt; but he being cut off by the treachery of Tiſſaphernes, Xenophon was choſen in his room; and to his valour and wiſdom it was chiefly owing that at length they got ſafe into Greece.

officers,

officers, yet they forced their way, as it were, out of the very palace of Artaxerxes, and made it appear to all the world, that the Perſians and their king had nothing to value themſelves upon but wealth, luxury, and women; and that the reſt was mere parade and oſtentation. This gave freſh ſpirits to the Greeks, and taught them to deſpiſe the barbarians. The Lacedaemonians, in particular, thought it would be a great diſhonour, if they did not now deliver the Aſiatic Greeks from ſervitude, and put an end to the inſults of the Perſians. Their firſt attempt was under the direction of Thimbro, and the next under that of Dercyllidas; but as thoſe generals effected nothing of importance, the conduct of the war was given to Ageſilaus. That prince immediately paſſed into Aſia with his fleet, and ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his vigorous operations; for he defeated Tiſſaphernes in a pitched battle, and brought over ſeveral cities.

By theſe loſſes Artaxerxes underſtood what was his beſt method of making war. He, therefore, ſent Hermocrates, the Rhodian, into Greece, with a great quantity of gold, having inſtructed him to corrupt with it the leading men amongſt the ſtates, and to ſtir up a Grecian war againſt Lacedaemon.

Hermocrates acquitted himſelf ſo well in his commiſſion, that the moſt conſiderable cities leagued againſt Sparta; and there were ſuch commotions in Peloponneſus, that the magiſtrates were forced to recall Ageſilaus from Aſia. On leaving that country he is reported to have ſaid to his friends, "The "king drives me out of Aſia with thirty thouſand "archers." For the Perſian money bore the impreſſion of an archer.

Artaxerxes deprived the Lacedemonians of the dominion of the ſea, by means of Conon, the Athenian, who acted in conjunction with Pharnabazus. For Conon, after he had loſt the ſea-fight at Aegos Potamos, took up his abode in Cyprus, not merely to provide

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for his own ſafety, but to wait for a change of affairs as mariners wait for the turn of the tide. As he ſaw that his own plan wanted a reſpectable power to carry it into execution, and that the Perſian power required a perſon of ability to conduct it, he wrote the king an account of the meaſures he had concerted. The meſſenger was ordered to get the letter delivered into his hands by Zeno the Cretan, who danced in the revels, or by Polycritus the Mendaean, who was his phyſician; and in caſe of their abſence, by Cteſias, another phyſician. The letter, we are told, was given to Cteſias; and he added to it this paragraph, "I deſire you, Sir, to ſend Cteſias to me, for "he will be very ſerviceable in the buſineſs of the "navy." But Cteſias affirms, that the king, without any kind of ſolicitation, put him upon this ſervice.

After Artaxerxes had gained, by Conon and Pharnabazus, the battle off Cnidus, which ſtripped the Lacedaemonians of the empire of the ſea, he drew almoſt all Greece into his intereſt; inſomuch that the celebrated peace, called the peace of Antalcidas, was entirely of his modelling. Antalcidas was a Spartan, the ſon of Leon, and ſo ſtrongly attached to the king, that he prevailed with the Lacedaemonians to give up to him all the Greek cities in Aſia, and the iſlands which are reckoned amongſt its dependencies, to be held as his tributaries, in virtue of the peace; if we can call that a peace by which Greece was diſhonoured and betrayed; which was indeed ſo vile a bargain, that the moſt unſucceſsful war could have terminated in nothing more inglorious.

Hence it was that Artaxerxes, though, according to Dion's account, he always deteſted the other Spartans as the moſt impudent of men, yet expreſſed a great regard for Antalcidas, when he came to his court. One evening he took a chaplet of flowers from his head, dipped in the richeſt eſſences, and ſent it from his table to Antalcidas. All the court was aſtoniſhed at ſuch a mark of favour. But there

ſeems to have been a propriety in making him ſo ridiculous a compliment * ; and he was a fit man to wear ſuch a crown, who could take off Leonidas and Callicratidas in a dance before the Perſians. Somebody happening to ſay, in the hearing of Ageſilaus, "Alas for Greece! when the Lacedaemonians are "turning Perſians," he corrected him and ſaid, "No; the Medes are rather turning Lacedae-"monians." But the wit of the expreſſion did not remove the diſgrace of the thing. They loſt their ſuperiority in Greece by the ill-fought battle of Leuctra, as they had before loſt their honour by the vile conditions of this peace.

So long as Sparta kept the lead, the king admitted Antalcidas to the privileges of hoſpitality, and called him his friend. But when, upon their defeat at Leuctra, the Spartans ſent Ageſilaus into Egypt, to get a ſupply of money, and Antalcidas went upon the ſame buſineſs to the Perſian court, Artaxerxes treated him with ſo much neglect and contempt, that between the ridicule he ſuffered from his enemies, and his fear of the reſentment of the *Ephori*, he reſolved, on his return, to ſtarve himſelf to death. Iſmenias the Theban, and Pelopidas, who had lately won the battle of Leuctra, went alſo to the court of Artaxerxes. Pelopidas ſubmitted to nothing unworthy of his country or character; but Iſmenias being commanded to adore the king, purpoſely let his ring fall from his finger, and then, by ſtooping to take it up, appeared in a poſture of adoration. Timagoras, the Athenian, having given the king ſome ſecret intelligence in a letter which he ſent by a ſecretary named Beluris, he was ſo much pleaſed, that he made him a preſent of ten thouſand *darics*. The ſame Timagoras wanted a ſupply of cow's milk,

* It was a compliment entirely out of character to a Lacedaemonian; who, as ſuch, was ſuppoſed to value himſelf upon the ſimplicity of his manners, and on avoiding all approaches to luxury.

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on account of a languiſhing diſorder, and Artaxerxes ordered eighty cows for his uſe, which were to follow him wherever he went. He likewiſe ſent him a bed with the neceſſary coverlets, and Perſian ſervants to make it, becauſe he thought the Greeks not ſkilled in that art; and he ordered him to be carried to the ſea-ſide in a litter, on account of his indiſpoſition. To this we may add the allowance for his table while he was at court, which was ſo magnificent, that Oſtanes, the king's brother, one day ſaid to him, "Timagoras, remember this table, for it is not ſo ſumptuous for nothing." This was rather reproaching him with his treaſon than calling for his acknowledgments. And, indeed, Timagoras, on his return, was capitally condemned by the Athenians for taking bribes.

Artaxerxes, in ſome meaſure, atoned for the cauſes of ſorrow he gave the Greeks, by doing one thing that afforded them great pleaſure: he put Tiſſaphernes, their moſt implacable enemy, to death. This he did partly at the inſtigation of Paryſatis, who added other charges to thoſe alleged againſt him. For he did not long retain his anger, but was reconciled to his mother, and ſent for her to court, becauſe he ſaw ſhe had underſtanding and ſpirit enough to aſſiſt in governing the kingdom; and there now remained no farther cauſe of ſuſpicions and uneaſineſs between them. From this time ſhe made it a rule to pleaſe the king in all her meaſures, and not to oppoſe any of his inclinations; by which ſhe gained an abſolute aſcendant over him. She perceived that he had a ſtrong paſſion for one of his own daughters, named Atoſſa. He endeavoured, indeed, to conceal it, on his mother's account, and reſtrained it in public; though, according to ſome authors, he had already a private commerce with the princeſs. Paryſatis no ſooner ſuſpected the intrigue, than ſhe careſſed her grand-daughter more than ever; and was continually praiſing to Artaxerxes both her beau-

ty and behaviour; in which ſhe aſſured him there was ſomething great and worthy of a crown. At laſt, ſhe perſuaded him to make her his wife, without regarding the laws and opinions of the Greeks: "God," ſaid ſhe, "has made you a law to the Per-"ſians, and a rule of right and wrong." Some hiſtorians, amongſt whom is Heraclides of Cumae, affirm, that Artaxerxes married not only Atoſſa, but another of his daughters, named Ameſtris; of whom we ſhall ſpeak by and bye. His affection for Atoſſa was ſo ſtrong, that though ſhe had a leproſy, which ſpread itſelf over her body, he was not diſguſted at it; but he was daily imploring Juno for her, and graſping the duſt of her temple; for he paid his homage to no other goddeſs. At the ſame time, by his order, his great officers and friends ſent ſo many offerings to her ſhrine, that the whole ſpace between the palace and the temple, which was ſixteen furlongs, was filled with gold, ſilver, purple, and fine * horſes.

He ſent Pharnabazus and Iphicrates to make war upon the Ægyptians; but the expedition miſcarried through the difference which happened between the generals he employed. After this he went in perſon againſt the Caduſians, with three hundred thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe. Their country is rough and uneven, and covered with perpetual fogs. As it produces no corn or fruits by cultivation, the inhabitants, a fierce and warlike race of men, live upon wild pears, apples, and other things of that kind. He, therefore, inſenſibly fell into great danger and diſtreſs; for his troops could find no proviſions there, nor could they be ſupplied from any other place. They were forced to kill their beaſts of burthen, and eat them; and thoſe became ſo ſcarce, that an aſs's head was ſold for ſixty *drachmas*. The king's table

* As horſes ſeem a ſtrange preſent to Juno, and are as ſtrangely mixed with gold, ſilver, and purple, Dacier conjectures, that inſtead of ἱππων, *horſes*, we ſhould read λιθων, *precious ſtones*.

itſelf

itſelf was ill ſupplied; and there remained only a few horſes, all the reſt having been uſed for food.

In this extremity, Tiribazus, who often was in high favour, on account of his valour, and often degraded for his levity, and who, at this very time, was in the greateſt diſgrace, ſaved the king and his whole army by the following ſtratagem: The Caduſians having two kings, each had his ſeparate camp. Upon this Tiribazus formed his ſcheme; and, after he had communicated it to Artaxerxes, went himſelf to one of thoſe princes, and ſent his ſon to the other. Each impoſed upon the king he applied to, by pretending that the other was going to ſend a private embaſſy to Artaxerxes, to negociate a ſeparate alliance. "But "if you are wiſe," ſaid they, "you will be before-"hand with your rival, and we will aſſiſt you in the "whole affair." This argument had its effect; and each, perſuaded that the other was undermining him out of envy, ſent his ambaſſadors; the one with Tiribazus, and the other with his ſon. As ſome time paſſed before they returned, Artaxerxes began to ſuſpect; and there were thoſe who ſuggeſted, that Tiribazus had ſome traiterous deſign. The king was extremely dejected, and repenting of the confidence he had repoſed in him, gave ear to all the calumnies of his enemies. But at laſt Tiribazus arrived, as did his ſon, with the Caduſian ambaſſadors; and peace was made with both parties: in conſequence of which Tiribazus returned with the king in greater eſteem and authority than ever. During this expedition, Artaxerxes ſhewed that timidity and effeminacy ought not to be aſcribed, as they generally are, to the pomp and luxuries of life, but to a native meanneſs and a depraved judgment: for neither the gold, the purple, nor the jewels, which the king always wore, and which were worth no leſs than twelve thouſand talents, hindered him from bearing the ſame fatigues and hardſhips with the meaneſt ſoldier in his army. He took his quiver on his back, and his buckler upon

his arm, and, quitting his horſe, would often march foremoſt upon the moſt craggy and difficult places; inſomuch that others found their taſk much lighter, when they ſaw the ſtrength and alacrity with which he proceeded; for he marched above two hundred furlongs a day.

At laſt he arrived at one of his own palaces, where there were gardens and parks of great extent and beauty, though the country around it was naked and barren. As the weather was exceedingly cold, he permitted his men to cut wood out of his own parks, without ſparing either pine or cypreſs; and when the ſoldiers were loth to touch trees of ſuch ſize and beauty, he took an ax in his own hand, and laid it to the fineſt tree amongſt them. After which they cut them down without ſcruple, and, having made a number of fires, paſſed the night with great ſatisfaction.

He found, however, on his arrival at his capital, that he had loſt many brave men, and almoſt all his horſes; and imagining that he was deſpiſed for his loſſes, and the ill ſucceſs of the expedition, he became ſuſpicious of his grandees. Many of them he put to death in anger, and more out of fear: for fear is the moſt ſanguinary principle a tyrant can act from; courage, on the contrary, is merciful, mild, and unſuſpicious. Thus the moſt timorous animals are the hardeſt to be tamed; but the more generous, having leſs ſuſpicion, becauſe they have leſs fear, fly not the careſſes and ſociety of men.

Artaxerxes being now far advanced in years, obſerved his ſons making parties for the crown amongſt his friends and the reſt of the nobility. The more equitable part were for his leaving it to his eldeſt ſon Darius, as he had received it from his father in the ſame right. But his younger ſon Ochus, who was an active man, and of a violent ſpirit, had alſo a conſiderable intereſt amongſt the grandees. Beſides, he hoped to gain his father through Atoſſa; for he

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paid his court to her, and promiſed to make her the partner of his throne upon the death of Artaxerxes. Nay, it was ſaid, that he had already private familiarities with her. Artaxerxes, though he was ignorant of this circumſtance, reſolved to cut off the hopes of Ochus at once; leſt, following the daring ſteps of his uncle Cyrus, he ſhould involve the kingdom again in civil wars. He therefore declared Darius his ſucceſſor, who was now twenty-five* years old, and permitted him to wear the point of his turban † erect, as a mark of royalty.

As it is cuſtomary in Perſia for the heir to aſk a favour of him that declared him ſuch, which, if poſſible, is always granted; Darius aſked for Aſpaſia, who had been the favourite miſtreſs of Cyrus, and was now one of the king's concubines. She was a native of Phocea in Ionia, and her parents, who were above the condition of ſlaves, had given her a good education. One evening ſhe was introduced to Cyrus at ſupper with the other women: they approached him without ſcruple, and received his jokes and careſſes with pleaſure; but Aſpaſia ſtood by in ſilence: and when Cyrus called her, ſhe refuſed to go. Perceiving that the chamberlains were about to compel her, ſhe ſaid, "Whoever lays hands upon me ſhall "repent it." Upon which the company looked upon her as an unpoliſhed creature; but Cyrus was pleaſed, and ſaid, with a ſmile, to the perſon who brought the women, "Do not you ſee that of all "you have provided, this only has generous and "virtuous ſentiments?" From this moment he attached himſelf to her, loved her moſt of all his concubines, and called her Aſpaſia *the wiſe*. When Cyrus fell in battle, ſhe was taken amongſt the plunder of his camp.

* In the printed text it is *fifty*; but one of the manuſcripts gives us πεμπτον και εικοσον inſtead of πεντηκοσον. Beſides, Plutarch calls him a young man a little below.

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Artaxerxes was much concerned at his ſon's requeſt. For the barbarians are ſo extremely jealous of their women, that capital puniſhment is inflicted, not only on the man who ſpeaks to or touches one of the king's concubines, but on him who approaches or paſſes their chariots on the road. And though, in compliance with the dictates of his paſſion, he had made Atoſſa his wife, contrary to law, he kept three hundred and ſixty concubines, all women of the greateſt beauty. However, when Darius demanded Aſpaſia, he declared her free, and ſaid, "She might "go with him, if ſhe pleaſed; but he would do no "violence to her inclinations." Accordingly Aſpaſia was ſent for, and, contrary to the king's expectation, made choice of Darius. He gave her up to him, indeed, becauſe he was obliged to it by the law; but he ſoon took her away, and made her a prieſteſs of Diana of Ecbatana, whom they call *Anaitis* *, that ſhe might paſs the remainder of her life in chaſtity. This he thought no ſevere revenge upon his ſon, but a pleaſant way of chaſtiſing his preſumption. But Darius highly reſented the affront; whether it was that the charms of Aſpaſia had made a deep impreſſion upon him, or whether he thought himſelf inſulted and ridiculed by this proceeding.

Tiribazus ſeeing how much he was offended, endeavoured to exaſperate him ſtill more. This he did from a fellow-feeling; for he had ſuffered an injury much of the ſame kind. The king, having ſeveral daughters, promiſed to give Apama to Pharnabazus, Rhodogune to Orontes, and Ameſtris to Tiribazus. He kept his word with the two firſt. but deceived Tiribazus; for, inſtead of giving Ameſtris to him, he married her himſelf; promiſing, at the ſame time, that he ſhould have his youngeſt daughter Atoſſa: But he became enamoured of her too, and married

* Pauſanias ſays, there was a temple of Diana *Anaitis* in Lydia. But Juſtin tells us, that Artaxerxes made Aſpaſia one of the prieſteſſes of the ſun.

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her, as we have already mentioned. This treatment extremely incenſed Tiribazus, who had, indeed, nothing ſteady in his diſpoſition; but was wild and irregular. One while ſucceſsful, and upon a footing with the greateſt men in the court, another while unacceptable to the king, and, ſinking into diſgrace, he bore no change of fortune with propriety. If he was in favour, his vanity was inſupportable; if in diſgrace, inſtead of being humble and quiet, he had recourſe to violence and ferocity.

His converſing with the young prince was, therefore, adding flame to fire. "What avails it," ſaid he, "to have the point of your turban advanced, "if you ſeek not to advance your authority? No- "thing can be more abſurd than your thinking your- "ſelf ſecure of the ſucceſſion, while your brother is "privately forwarding his intereſt by means of the "women, and your father is ſo very fooliſh and "unſteady. He who could break one of the moſt "ſacred laws of the Perſians, for the ſake of an in- "ſignificant Grecian woman, is certainly not to be "depended upon in more important engagements. "The caſe is quite different between you and Ochus, "as to the event of the competition: if Ochus does "not obtain the crown, none will hinder him from "living happily in a private ſtation; but you, who "have been declared king, muſt either reign or "die." On this occaſion was verified that obſerva- tion of Sophocles:

——— *Swift in its march*
Is evil counſel —

The road which leads us to what we deſire is indeed ſmooth, and of an eaſy deſcent; and the deſires of moſt men are vicious, becauſe they have never known or tried the enjoyments of virtue. The luſtre of ſuch an imperial crown, and Darius's fear of his brother, furniſhed Tiribazus with other arguments; but the goddeſs of beauty contributed her ſhare towards

wards perſuading him, by putting him in mind of the loſs of Aſpaſia.

He gave himſelf up, therefore, entirely to Tiribazus; and many others ſoon entered into the conſpiracy. But before it could be carried into execution, an eunuch gave the king information of it, and of all the meaſures that were taken; for he had gotten perfect intelligence that they deſigned to enter his chamber in the night, and kill him in his bed.

Artaxerxes thought it would be great imprudence either to ſlight the information, and lay himſelf open to ſuch danger, or to credit it without farther proof. The method he took was this: he ordered the eunuch to join Darius and his adherents, and aſſiſt at all their councils; and in the mean time broke a door through the wall behind his bed, which he concealed with the tapeſtry. When the time came, which the eunuch informed him of, he placed himſelf upon his bed, and remained there till he had a ſight of the faces of the conſpirators, and could perfectly diſtinguiſh each of them. But when he ſaw them draw their ſwords, and advance towards him, he pulled back the tapeſtry, retreated into the inner room, and, after he had bolted the door, alarmed the palace. The aſſaſſins ſeeing themſelves diſcovered, and their deſigns diſappointed, immediately took to flight, and deſired Tiribazus to do the ſame, becauſe he muſt certainly have been obſerved. While he lingered, the guards came and laid hold of him; but he killed many of them, and it was with difficulty that he was diſpatched at laſt by a javelin thrown at a diſtance.

Darius was taken, together with his children, and brought to anſwer for his crime before the judges which the king appointed. The king did not think proper to aſſiſt at the trial in perſon, but directed others to lay the charge againſt his ſon; and his notaries were to take down ſeparately the opinion of each judge. As they all gave it unanimouſly for death, the officers took Darius, and led him into

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an adjacent priſon. But when the executioner came, with the inſtrument in his hand which is uſed in beheading the capital convicts, he was ſeized with horror at the ſight of Darius, and drew back towards the door, as having neither ability nor courage to lay violent hands upon his king. But the judges who ſtood at the door, urging him to do his office, with menaces of inſtant puniſhment if he did not comply, he returned, and ſeizing Darius by the hair, threw him on the ground, and cut off his head. Some ſay the cauſe was tried in preſence of the king, and that Darius, after he was convicted by indubitable proofs, fell on his face and begged for mercy; but Artaxerxes riſing in great anger, drew his ſcymitar, and purſued his ſtroke till he laid him dead at his feet. They add, that after this he returned to his palace, and having paid his devotions to the ſun, ſaid to thoſe who aſſiſted at the ceremony, "My Perſians, you may now "return in triumph, and tell your fellow-ſubjects "that the great Oromazes* has taken vengeance on "thoſe who formed the moſt impious and execrable "deſigns againſt their ſovereign." Such was the end of the conſpiracy.

Ochus now entertained very agreeable hopes, and was encouraged beſides by Atoſſa. But he had ſtill ſome fear of his remaining legitimate brother Ariaſpes, and of his natural brother Arſames. Not that Ochus had ſo much to apprehend from Ariaſpes, merely becauſe he was older, but the Perſians were deſirous of having him ſucceed to the throne on account of his mildneſs, his ſincerity, and his humane diſpoſition. As for Arſames, he had the character of a wiſe prince, and was the particular favourite of his father. This was no ſecret to Ochus. However, he planned the deſtruction of both theſe brothers of his; and being of an artful, as well as ſanguinary turn, he employed his cruelty againſt Arſames, and his art

* The Perſians worſhipped *Oromazes* as the author of Good, and *Arimanius* as the author of Evil.

againſt

againſt Ariaſpes. To the latter he privately ſent ſome of the king's eunuchs and friends with frequent accounts of ſevere and menacing expreſſions of his father's, as if he had reſolved to put him to a cruel and ignominious death. As theſe perſons came daily to tell him in confidence, that ſome of theſe threats were upon the point of being put in execution, and the others would not be long delayed, he was ſo terrified, and fell into ſuch a melancholy and deſponding way, that he prepared a poiſonous draught, and drank it, to deliver himſelf from the burthen of life.

The king being informed of the manner of his death, ſincerely lamented him, and had ſome ſuſpicion of the cauſe, but could not examine into it thoroughly on account of his great age.

However, Arſames now became dearer to him than ever; and it was eaſy to ſee that the king placed an entire confidence in him, and communicated to him his moſt ſecret thoughts. Ochus, therefore, would not defer his enterprize longer, but employed Harpates, the ſon of Tiribazus, to kill Arſames. Artaxerxes, whom time had brought to the very verge of life, when he had this additional ſtroke in the fate of Arſames, could not make much more ſtruggle; his ſorrow and regret ſoon brought him to the grave. He lived ninety-four years, and reigned ſixty-two*. He had the character of a prince who governed with lenity, and loved his people. But perhaps the behaviour of his ſucceſſor might contribute not a little to his reputation; for Ochus was the moſt cruel and ſanguinary of princes.

* Diodorus Siculus ſays, that he reigned only forty-three years.

ARA-

ARATUS.

THE philoſopher Chryſippus, my dear Polycrates, ſeems to have thought the ancient proverb not quite juſtifiable; and therefore he delivered it, not as it really was, but what he thought it ſhould be—

Who but a happy ſon will praiſe his ſire?

Dionyſiodorus the Troezenian, however, corrects him, and gives it right:

Who but unhappy ſons will praiſe their ſires?

He ſays the proverb was made to ſilence thoſe who, having no merit of their own, dreſs themſelves up in the virtues of their anceſtors, and are laviſh in their praiſes. But thoſe *in whom the virtues of their ſires ſhine in congenial beauty*, to make uſe of Pindar's expreſſion; who, like you, form their conduct after the brighteſt patterns in their families, may think it a great happineſs to remember the moſt excellent of their anceſtors, and often to hear or ſpeak of them. For they aſſume not the honour of other mens virtues for want of merit of their own; but uniting their great actions to thoſe of their progenitors, they praiſe them as the authors of their deſcent, and the models of their lives. For which reaſon, when I have written the life of Aratus, your countryman, and one of your anceſtors, I ſhall ſend it to you, who reflect no diſhonour upon him either in point of reputation or power.

power. Not that I doubt your having informed yourſelf of his actions from the firſt, with all poſſible care and exactneſs; but I do it, that your ſons, Polycrates and Pythocles, may form themſelves upon the great exemplars in their own family; ſometimes hearing and ſometimes reading what it becomes them well to imitate. For it is the ſelf-admirer, not the admirer of virtue, that thinks himſelf ſuperior to others.

After the harmony of the pure Doric*, I mean the ariſtocracy, was broken in Sicyon, and ſeditions took place through the ambition of the demagogues, that city continued a long time in a diſtempered ſtate. It only changed one tyrant for another, till Cleon was ſlain, and the adminiſtration committed to Timoclides and Clinias, perſons of the greateſt reputation and authority amongſt the citizens. The commonwealth ſeemed to be in ſome degree re-eſtabliſhed, when Timoclidas died. Abantidas, the ſon of Paſeas, taking that opportunity to ſet himſelf up tyrant, killed Clinias, and either baniſhed or put to death his friends and relations. He ſought alſo for his ſon Aratus, who was only ſeven years old, with a deſign to diſpatch him. But in the confuſion that was in the houſe, when his father was ſlain, the boy eſcaped among thoſe that fled, and wandered about the city in fear, and deſtitute of help, till he happened to enter, unobſerved, the houſe of a woman named Soſo, who was ſiſter to Abantidas, and had been married to Prophantus, the brother of Clinias. As ſhe was a perſon of generous ſentiments, and perſuaded beſides, that it was by the direction of ſome deity that the child had taken refuge with her, ſhe concealed him in one of her apartments till night, and then ſent him privately to Argos.

Aratus having thus eſcaped ſo imminent a danger, immediately conceived a violent and implacable hatred

* There was a gravity, but, at the ſame time, great perfection, in the Dorian muſic.

for

for tyrants; which increaſed as he grew up. He was educated by the friends of his family at Argos, in a liberal manner; and as he was vigorous and robuſt, he took to gymnaſtic exerciſes, and ſucceeded ſo well, as to gain the prize in the five ſeveral ſorts *. Indeed, in his ſtatues there is an athletic look; and amidſt the ſtrong ſenſe and majeſty expreſſed in his countenance, we may diſcover ſomething not inconſiſtent with the voracity and mattock of the wreſtlers †. Hence perhaps it was that he cultivated his powers of eloquence leſs than became a ſtateſman. He might indeed be a better ſpeaker than ſome ſuppoſe; and there are thoſe who judge, from his Commentaries, that he certainly was ſo, though they were haſtily written, and attempted nothing beyond common language,

Some time after the eſcape of Aratus, Dinias and Ariſtotle the logician formed a deſign againſt Abantidas; and they eaſily found an opportunity to kill him, when he attended, and ſometimes joined in, their diſputations in the public halls, which they had inſenſibly drawn him into for that purpoſe. Paſeas, the father of Abantidas, then ſeized the ſupreme power; but he was aſſaſſinated by Nicocles, who took his place, and was the next tyrant. We are told that there was a perfect likeneſs between this Nicocles and Periander, the ſon of Cypſelus; as Orontes the Perſian reſembled Alcmaeon, the ſon of Amphiaraus; and a Lacedaemonian youth the great Hector. Myrtilus informs us, that the young man was crowded to death by the multitudes who came to ſee him, when that reſemblance was known.

* The five exerciſes of the *Pentathlum* (as we have already obſerved) were running, reaping, throwing the dart, boxing, and wreſtling.

† They uſed to break up the ground with the mattock, by way of exerciſe, to improve their ſtrength.

Κώχετ' ἔχων σκαπάναν τε καὶ εἰκατὶ τυτθὸν μᾶλα. THEOCRIT.

Nico-

Nicocles reigned four months, during which time he did a thouſand injuries to the people; and was near loſing the city to the Ætolians, who formed a ſcheme to ſurprize it. Aratas was by this time approaching to manhood, and great attention was paid him on account of his high birth and his ſpirit, in which there was nothing little or unenterpriſing; and yet it was under the correction of a gravity and ſolidity of judgment much beyond his years. The exiles, therefore, conſidered him as their principal reſource; and Nicocles was not regardleſs of his motions, but by his private agents obſerved the meaſures he was taking. Not that he expected he would embark in ſo bold and dangerous an enterprize as he did; but he ſuſpected his applications to the princes who were the friends of his father. Indeed, Aratus began in that channel; but when he found that Antigonus, notwithſtanding his promiſes, put him off from time to time, and that his hopes from Egypt and Ptolemy were too remote, he reſolved to deſtroy the tyrant without any foreign aſſiſtance.

The firſt perſons to whom he communicated his intentions, were Ariſtomachus and Ecdelus. Ariſtomachus was an exile from Sicyon; and Ecdelus an Arcadian, baniſhed from Megalopolis. The latter was a philoſpher, who in ſpeculation never loſt ſight of practice; for he had ſtudied at Athens under Arceſilaus the academician *. As theſe readily accepted his propoſal, he applied to the other exiles; a few of whom joined him, becauſe they were aſhamed to give up ſo promiſing a hope; but the greateſt part believed it was only Aratus's inexperience † that made him think of ſo bold an attempt, and endeavoured to prevent his proceeding.

When he was conſidering how to ſeize ſome poſt in the territories of Sicyon, from whence he might

* Arceſilaus was the diſciple of Crantor, and had eſtabliſhe the middle academy.

† He was not yet twenty years old.

pro-

profecute hoſtilities againſt the tyrant, a man of Sicyon arrived at Argos, who had eſcaped out of priſon. He was brother to Xenocles, one of the exiles; and being introduced by him to Aratus, he informed him, that the part of the wall which he had gotten over, was almoſt level with the ground on the inſide, as it joined upon a high rocky part of the city; and that on the outſide it was not ſo high but that it might be ſcaled. Upon this intelligence, Aratus ſent two of his ſervants, Sceuthas and Technon, along with Xenocles, to reconnoitre the wall; for he was reſolved, if he could do it ſecretly, to hazard all upon one great effort, rather than lengthen out the war, and publicly engage with a tyrant, when he had no reſources but thoſe of a private man.

Xenocles and his companions, after they had taken the height of the wall, reported, at their return, that it was neither impracticable nor difficult, but that it was dangerous to attempt it on account of ſome dogs kept by a gardener; who were little indeed, but at the ſame time extremely fierce and furious. Aratus, however, immediately ſet about the work. It was eaſy to provide arms without ſuſpicion; for almoſt every body went armed, by reaſon of the frequent robberies and the incurſions of one people into the territories of another. And as to the ſcaling ladders, Euphranor, who was one of the exiles, and a carpenter by trade, made them publicly; his buſineſs ſcreening him from ſuſpicion. Each of his friends in Argos, who had no great number of men that he could command, furniſhed him with ten; he armed thirty of his own ſervants, and hired ſome few ſoldiers of Xenophilus, who was chief captain of a band of robbers. To the latter it was given out that the deſign of their march to Sicyon was to carry off the king's ſtud; and ſeveral of them were ſent before by different ways to the tower of Polygnotus, with orders to wait for him there. Capheſias was likewiſe ſent, with four others, in a travelling dreſs. Theſe were to go in the even-

ing to the gardener's, and pretending to be travellers, get a lodging there; after which they were to confine both him and his dogs; for that part of the wall was not acceſſible any other way. The ladders being made to take in pieces, were packed up in corn-cheſts, and ſent before in waggons prepared for that purpoſe.

In the mean time ſome of the tyrant's ſpies arrived at Argos; and it was reported that they were ſculking about to watch the motions of Aratus. Next morning, therefore, Aratus appeared early with his friends in the market-place, and talked with them for ſome time. He then went to the Gymnaſium, and after he had anointed himſelf, took with him ſome young men from the wreſtling-ring, who uſed to be of his parties of pleaſure, and returned home. In a little time his ſervants were ſeen in the market-place; ſome carrying chaplets of flowers, ſome buying flambeaux, and ſome in diſcourſe with the women who uſed to ſing and play at entertainments. Theſe manœuvres deceived the ſpies. They laughed, and ſaid to each other, "Certainly nothing can be "more daſtardly than a tyrant; ſince Nicocles, who "is maſter of ſo ſtrong a city, and armed with ſo "much power, lives in fear of a young man, who "waſtes the pittance he has to ſubſiſt on in exile, in "drinking and revelling even in the day time."— After theſe falſe reaſonings they retired.

Aratus, immediately after he had made his meal, ſet out for the tower of Polygnotus, and when he had joined the ſoldiers there, proceeded to Nemea, where he diſcloſed his real intentions to his whole company. Having exhorted them to behave like brave men, and promiſed them great rewards, he gave *propitious Apollo* for the word, and then led them forward towards Sicyon, governing his march according to the motion of the moon; ſometimes quickening, and ſometimes ſlackening his pace, ſo as to have the benefit of her light by the way, and to come to the garden by the wall juſt after ſhe was ſet. There Cephiſias met him, and informed him that the dogs were

were let out before he arrived; but that he had ſecured the gardener. Moſt of the company were greatly diſpirited at this account, and deſired Aratus to quit his enterprize; but he encouraged them, by promiſing to deſiſt, if the dogs ſhould prove very troubleſome. Then he ordered thoſe who carried the ladders to march before, under the conduct of Ecdelus and Mnaſitheus, and himſelf followed ſoftly. The dogs now began to run about and bark violently at Ecdelus and his men; nevertheleſs they approached the wall, and planted their ladders ſafe. But as the foremoſt of them were mounting, the officer who was to be relieved by the morning guard, paſſed by that way at the ſound of a bell, with many torches and much noiſe. Upon this, the men laid themſelves cloſe to their ladders, and eſcaped the notice of this watch without much difficulty; but when the other which was to relieve it came up, they were in the utmoſt danger. However, that too paſſed by without obſerving them; after which, Mnaſitheus and Ecdelus mounted the wall firſt, and having ſecured the way both to the right and left, they ſent Technon to Aratus, to deſire him to advance as faſt as poſſible.

It was no great diſtance from the garden to the wall; and to a tower in which was placed a great hunting-dog to alarm the guard. But whether he was naturally drowſy, or had wearied himſelf the day before, he did not perceive their entrance. But the gardener's dogs awaking him by barking below, he began to growl; and when Aratus's men paſſed by the tower, he barked out, ſo that the whole place reſounded with the noiſe. Then the centinel, who kept watch oppoſite to the tower, called aloud to the huntſman, and aſked him, "whom the dog "barked at ſo angrily; or whether any thing new "had happened?" The huntſman anſwered from the tower, 'that there was nothing extraordinary; 'and that the dog was only diſturbed at the torches 'of the guards and the noiſe of the bell.' This encouraged Aratus's ſoldiers more than any thing; for

they imagined that the huntſman concealed the truth becauſe he had a ſecret underſtanding with their leader, and that there were many others in the town who would promote the deſign. But when the reſt of their companions came to ſcale the wall, the danger increaſed. It appeared to be a long affair, becauſe the ladders ſhook and ſwung extremely if they did not mount them ſoftly, and one by one; and the time preſſed, for the cocks began to crow. The country people, too, who kept the market, were expected to arrive every moment. Aratus, therefore, haſtened up himſelf when only forty of his company were upon the wall; and when a few more had joined him from below, he put himſelf at the head of his men, and marched immediately to the tyrant's palace, where the main-guard was kept, and where the mercenaries paſſed the night under arms. Coming ſuddenly upon them, he took them priſoners without killing one man; and then ſent to his friends in the town to invite them to come and join him. They ran to him from all quarters; and day now appearing, the theatre was filled with a crowd of people who ſtood in ſuſpenſe; for they had only heard a rumour, and had no certainty of what was doing, till a herald came and proclaimed in theſe words, "Aratus, the "ſon of Clinias, calls the citizens to liberty."

Then perſuaded that the day they had long expected was come, they ruſhed in multitudes to the palace of the tyrant, and ſet fire to it. The flame was ſo ſtrong that it was ſeen as far as Corinth; and the Corinthians wondering what might be the cauſe, were upon the point of going to their aſſiſtance. Nicocles eſcaped out of the city by ſome ſubterranean conduits; and the ſoldiers having helped the Sicyonians to extinguiſh the fire, plundered his palace. Nor did Aratus hinder them from taking this booty; but the reſt of the wealth which the ſeveral tyrants had amaſſed, he beſtowed upon the citizens.

There was not ſo much as one man killed or wounded in this action, either of Aratus's party, or

of

of the enemy; fortune ſo conducting the enterprize, as not to ſully it with the blood of one citizen. Aratus recalled eighty perſons who had been baniſhed by Nicocles; and of thoſe that had been expelled by the former tyrants not leſs than five hundred. The latter had long been forced to wander from place to place, ſome of them full fifty years; conſequently moſt of them returned in a deſtitute condition. They were now, indeed, reſtored to their ancient poſſeſſions; but their going into houſes and lands which had found new maſters, laid Aratus under great difficulties. Without, he ſaw Antigonus envying the liberty which the city had recovered, and laying ſchemes to enſlave it again; and within he found nothing but faction and diſorder. He therefore judged it beſt, in this critical ſituation, to join it to the Achaean league. As the people of Sicyon were Dorians, they had no objection to being called a part of the Achæan community, or to their form of government*.

It

* The Dutch republic much reſembles it. The Achaeans, indeed, at firſt had two *praetors*, whoſe office it was both to preſide in the diet, and to command the army; but it was ſoon thought adviſeable to reduce them to one. There is this difference, too, between the Dutch Stadtholder and the Achaean praetor, that the latter did not continue two years ſucceſſively in his employment. But in other reſpects there is a ſtriking ſimilarity between the ſtates of Holland and thoſe of the Achaean league; and if the Achaeans could have become a maritime power like the Dutch, their power would probably have been much more extenſive and laſting than it was.

All the cities ſubject to the Achaean league were governed by the great council, or general aſſembly of the whole nation, which was aſſembled twice a year, in the ſpring and autumn. To this aſſembly, or diet, each of the confederate cities had a right to ſend a number of deputies, who were elected in their reſpective cities by a plurality of voices. In theſe meetings they enacted laws, diſpoſed of the vacant employments, declared war, made peace, concluded alliances, and, in ſhort, provided for all the principal occaſions of the commonwealth.

Beſide the *praetor*, they had ten great officers called *Demiurgi*, choſen by the general aſſembly out of the moſt eminent and experienced perſons amongſt the ſtates. It was their office to aſſiſt the praetor with their advice. He was to propoſe nothing to the

It muſt be acknowledged, indeed, that the Achaeans at that time were no very great or powerful people. Their towns were generally ſmall, their lands neither extenſive nor fertile; and they had no harbours on their coaſts, the ſea for the moſt part entering the land in rocky and impracticable creeks. Yet none gave a better proof than this people, that the power of Greece is invincible while good order and harmony prevail amongſt her members, and ſhe has an able general to lead her armies. In fact, theſe very Achaeans, though but inconſiderable in compariſon of the Greeks in their flouriſhing times, or, to ſpeak more properly, not equalling in their whole community the ſtrength of one reſpectable city in the period we are upon; yet by good councils and unanimity, and by hearkening to any man of ſuperior virtue, inſtead of envying his merit, not only kept themſelves free amidſt ſo many powerful ſtates and tyrants, but ſaved great part of Greece, or reſcued it from chains.

As to his character, Aratus had ſomething very popular in his behaviour; he had a native greatneſs of mind, and was more attentive to the public intereſt than to his own. He was an implacable enemy to tyrants; but with reſpect to others, he made the good of his country the ſole rule of his friendſhip or oppoſition. So that he ſeems rather to have been a mild and moderate enemy than a zealous friend; his regards and averſions to particular men varying as the occaſions of the commonwealth dictated. In ſhort, nations or great communities with one voice re-echoed the declaration of the aſſemblies and theatres, that Aratus loved none but good men †. With regard

general aſſembly, but what had been previouſly approved by their body; and in his abſence the whole management of civil affairs devolved upon them.

† Ομονοιας εθνων και κοινωνιας πολεων, και συνεδριω και θεατρω μιαν φωνην αφιεντος, ως υδενος αλλ' * η των καλων εραστης. The former tranſlator has given us a good ſentiment, but the original will not bear it. "Of all thoſe things which "are

* One of the manuſcripts gives us αλλω η.

gard to open wars and pitched battles, he was indeed diffident and timorous; but in gaining a point by ſtratagem, in ſurprizing cities and tyrants, there could not be an abler man.

To this cauſe we muſt aſſign it, that after he had exerted great courage, and ſucceeded in enterprizes that were looked upon as deſperate; through too much fear and caution he gave up others that were more practicable, and not of leſs importance: for, as amongſt animals there are ſome that can ſee very clearly in the night, and yet are next to blind in the day-time, the dryneſs of the eye, and the ſubtilty of its humours not ſuffering them to bear the light; ſo there is in men a kind of courage and underſtanding which is eaſily diſconcerted in open dangers and encounters, and yet reſumes a happy boldneſs in ſecret enterprizes. The reaſon of this inequality in men of parts, otherwiſe excellent, is their wanting the advantages of philoſophy. Virtue is in them the product of nature, unaſſiſted by ſcience, like the fruits of the foreſt, which come without the leaſt cultivation †. Of this there are many examples to be found.

After Aratus had engaged himſelf and his city in the Achaean league, he ſerved in the cavalry; and the generals highly eſteemed him for his ready obedience. For though he had contributed ſo much to the common cauſe by his name and by the forces of Sicyon, yet the Achaean commander, whether of Dima, or

" are eſteemed moſt excellent, none gave him ſo great delight " as concord between nations, aſſociations of cities, and unani- " mity in public aſſemblies." He ſeems to have read αλλω without the η that follows. In that caſe, indeed, it would be capable of his conſtruction; but we have no authority for ſuch an omiſſion. We will not ſay, however, that his conjecture is wrong, or that αλλω has not been changed into αλλη; for it certainly was Aratus's principal object to aſſociate cities in one community, and promote harmony amongſt the Greeks.

† This character of Aratus is perfectly agreeable to what Polybius has given us in his fourth book. Two great maſters will draw with equal excellence, though their manner muſt be different.

Tritta, or ſome more inconſiderable town, found him always as tractable as the meaneſt ſoldier.

When the king of Egypt made him a preſent of twenty-five talents, he received it indeed, but laid out the whole upon his fellow-citizens; relieving the neceſſitous with part of it, and ranſoming ſuch as were priſoners with the reſt.

But the exiles whom Aratus had recalled, would not be ſatisfied with any thing leſs than the reſtitution of their eſtates; and gave the preſent poſſeſſors ſo much trouble, that the city was in danger of being ruined by ſedition. In this extremity he ſaw no reſource except in the generoſity of Ptolemy; and therefore determined to take a voyage to Ægypt, and apply to him for as much money as would reconcile all parties. Accordingly he ſet ſail from Methone, above the promontory of Malea, in hopes of taking the ſhorteſt paſſage. But a contrary wind ſprang up, and the ſeas ran ſo high, that the pilot, unable to bear up againſt them, changed his courſe, and with much difficulty got into Adria *, a town which was in the enemy's hands; for Antigonus had a garriſon there. To avoid this imminent danger he landed; and, with only one friend named Timanthes, making his way as far as poſſible from the ſea, ſought for ſhelter in a place well covered with wood, in which he and his companion ſpent a very diſagreeable night. Soon after he had left the ſhip, the governor of the fort came and enquired for him; but he was deceived by Aratus's ſervants, who were inſtructed to ſay he had made off in another veſſel to Euboea. However, he detained the ſhip and ſervants as lawful prize. Aratus ſpent ſome days in this diſtreſsful ſituation, where one while he looked out to reconnoitre the coaſt, and another while kept himſelf con-

* Palmerius conjectures that we ſhould read *Andria*, which he ſuppoſes to be a town in the iſland of *Andros*. He confirms it with this argument, that Aratus is ſaid to have paſſed from hence to Euboea, which is oppoſite that iſland.

cealed;

cealed; but at laſt, by good fortune a Roman ſhip happened to put in near the place of his retreat. The ſhip was bound for Syria; and Aratus prevailed upon the maſter to land him in Caria. But he had equal dangers to combat at ſea in this as in his former paſſages. And when he was in Caria, he had a voyage to take to Ægypt, which he found a very long one. Upon his arrival, however, he was immediately admitted to audience by the king, who had long been inclined to ſerve him on account of the paintings which he uſed to compliment him with from Greece: for Aratus, who had a taſte for theſe things, was always collecting for him the pieces of the beſt maſters, particularly thoſe of Pamphilus and Melanthus *: for Sicyon was famed for the cultivation of the arts, particularly the art of painting; and it was believed that there only the ancient elegance was preſerved without the leaſt corruption. Hence it was that the great Apelles, at a time when he was much admired, went to Sicyon, and gave the painters a talent, not ſo much for any improvement he expected, as for the reputation of having been of their ſchool. In conſequence of which, Aratus, when he reſtored Sicyon to liberty, and deſtroyed the portraits of the tyrants, heſitated a long time on coming to that of Ariſtratus; for it was the united work of the diſciples of Melanthus, who had repreſented him ſtanding in a chariot of victory; and the pencil of Apelles had contributed to the performance, as we are informed by Polemo the geographer.

The piece was ſo admirable, that Aratus could not avoid feeling the art that was diſplayed in it; but his hatred of tyrants ſoon over-ruled that feeling, and he

* Two of the moſt celebrated painters of all antiquity. Pamphilus had been brought up under Eupompus, and was the maſter of Apelles and Melanthus. The capital pieces of Pamphilus were, *a Brotherhood*, *a Battle*, *the Victory of the Athenians*, and *Ulyſſes in his veſſel, taking leave of Calypſo*. Pliny tells us, that the whole wealth of a city could ſcarcely purchaſe one of the pieces of Melanthus.

ordered

ordered it to be defaced. Nealces * the painter, who was honoured with his friendſhip, is ſaid to have implored him with tears to ſpare that piece: and when he found him inflexible, he ſaid, "Aratus, continue "your war with tyrants, but not with every thing "that belongs to them. Spare at leaſt the chariot "and the victory, and I ſhall ſoon make Ariſtratus "vaniſh." Aratus gave his conſent; and Nealces defaced the figure of Ariſtratus, but did not venture to put any thing in its place except a palm-tree. We are told, however, that there was ſtill a dim appearance of the feet of Ariſtratus at the bottom of the chariot.

This taſte for painting had already recommended Aratus to Ptolemy; and his converſation gained ſo much farther upon him, that he made him a preſent of a hundred and fifty talents for his city; forty of which he ſent with him on his return to Peloponneſus, and he remitted the reſt in the ſeveral portions, and at the times that he had fixed. It was a glorious thing to apply ſo much money to the uſe of his fellow-citizens, at a time when it was common to ſee generals and demagogues, for much ſmaller ſums which they received of the kings, to oppreſs, enſlave, and betray to them the cities where they were born. But it was ſtill more glorious, by this money to reconcile the poor to the rich, to ſecure the commonwealth, and eſtabliſh harmony amongſt all ranks of people.

His moderation in the exerciſe of the great power he was veſted with, was truly admirable: for, being appointed ſole arbitrator of the claims of the exiles, he refuſed to act alone, and joined fifteen of the citizens in the commiſſion; with whoſe aſſiſtance, after much labour and attention, he eſtabliſhed peace and

* Nealces was a painter of great reputation. One of his pieces was the naval fight between the Egyptians and the Perſians. As the action was upon the Nile, whoſe colour is like that of the ſea, he diſtinguiſhed it by a ſymbol. He drew an aſs drinking on the ſhore, and a crocodile in act to ſpring upon him.

PLIN. lib. xxxv. c. ii.

friend-

friendſhip amongſt the people. Beſide the honours which the whole community conferred on him for theſe ſervices, the exiles in particular erected his ſtatue in braſs, and put upon it this inſcription,

Far as the pillars which Alcides rear'd,
Thy councils and thy deeds in arms for Greece
The tongue of Fame has told. But we, Aratus,
We wanderers, whom thou haſt reſtor'd to Sicyon,
Will ſing thy juſtice; place thy pleaſing form,
As a benignant power, with Gods that ſave.
For thou haſt given that dear equality,
And all the laws which favouring heaven might give.

Aratus, after ſuch important ſervices, was placed above envy amongſt his people. But king Antigonus, uneaſy at the progreſs he made, was determined either to gain him, or to make him obnoxious to Ptolemy. He therefore gave him extraordinary marks of his regard, though he wanted no ſuch advances. Amongſt others this was one:—On occaſion of a ſacrifice which he offered at Corinth, he ſent portions of it to Aratus at Sicyon: and at the feaſt which enſued, he ſaid in full aſſembly, "I at firſt "looked upon this young Sicyonian only as a man "of a liberal and patriotic ſpirit; but now I find "that he is alſo a good judge of the characters and "affairs of princes. At firſt he overlooked us for the "ſake of foreign hopes, and the admiration he had "conceived from ſtories of the wealth, the elephants, fleets, and the ſplendid court of Ægypt; "but ſince he has been upon the ſpot, and ſeen that "all this pomp is merely a theatrical thing, he is "come over entirely to us. I have received him to "my boſom, and am determined to employ him in "all my affairs. I deſire, therefore, you will all conſider him as a friend." The envious and malevolent took occaſion from this ſpeech to lay heavy charges againſt Aratus in their letters to Ptolemy, inſomuch that the king ſent one of his agents to tax him with his infidelity. Thus, like paſſionate lovers, the

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the candidates for the firſt favours of kings diſpute them with the utmoſt envy and malignity.

After Aratus was firſt choſen general of the Achaean league, he ravaged Locris, which lies on the other ſide of the gulph of Corinth, and committed the ſame ſpoil in the territories of Calydon. It was his intention to aſſiſt the Boeotians with ten thouſand men, but he came too late; they were already defeated by the Ætolians in an action near Chaeronea *, in which Aboecritus their general, and a thouſand of their men, were ſlain.

The year following †, Aratus being elected general again, undertook that celebrated enterprize of recovering the citadel of Corinth, in which he conſulted not only the benefit of Sicyon and Achaia, but of Greece in general; for ſuch would be the expulſion of the Macedonian garriſon, which was nothing better than a tyrant's yoke. As Chares, the Athenian general, upon a battle which he won of the king of Perſia's lieutenants, wrote to the people that he had gained a victory that was ſiſter to that of Marathon; ſo we may juſtly call this exploit of Aratus ſiſter to that of Pelopidas the Theban, and Thraſybulus the Athenian, when they killed the tyrants. There is, indeed, this difference, that Aratus's enterprize was not againſt Greeks, but againſt a foreign power, which is a difference much to his honour: for the iſthmus of Corinth, which ſeparates the two ſeas, joins our continent to that of Peloponneſus; and when there is a good garriſon in the citadel of Corinth, which ſtands on a high hill in the middle, at an equal diſtance from the two continents, it cuts off the communication with thoſe within the iſthmus, ſo that there can be no paſſage for troops, nor any kind of commerce,

* We muſt take care to diſtinguiſh this battle of Chaeronea from that great action in which Philip of Macedon beat the Thebans and Athenians, and which happened ſixty-ſix years before Aratus was born.

† Polybius, who wrote from Aratus's Commentaries, tells us there were eight years between Aratus's firſt praetorſhip and his ſecond, in which he took *Acrocorinth*.

either

either by ſea or land. In ſhort, he that is poſſeſſed of it, is maſter of all Greece. The younger Philip of Macedon, therefore, was not jeſting, but ſpoke a ſerious truth, when he called the city of Corinth *the fetters of Greece.* Hence, the place was always much contended for, particularly by kings and princes.

Antigonus's paſſion for it was not leſs than that of love in its greateſt madneſs; and it was the chief object of his cares to find a method of taking it by ſurprize, when the hopes of ſucceeding by open force failed. When Alexander, who was maſter of the citadel, died of poiſon that is ſaid to have been given him through Antigonus's means, his wife Nicaea, into whoſe hands it then fell, guarded it with great care. But Antigonus, hoping to gain it by means of his ſon Demetrius, ſent him to make her an offer of his hand. It was a flattering proſpect to a woman ſomewhat advanced in years, to have ſuch a young prince for her huſband. Accordingly Antigonus caught her by this bait. However, ſhe did not give up the citadel, but guarded it with the ſame attention as before. Antigonus pretending to take no notice, celebrated the marriage with ſacrifices and ſhows, and ſpent whole days in feaſting the people, as if his mind had been entirely taken up with mirth and pleaſure. One day, when Amoebeus was to ſing in the theatre, he conducted Nicaea in perſon on her way to the entertainment in a litter ſet out with royal ornaments. She was elated with the honour, and had not the leaſt thought of what was to enſue. But when they came to the point which bore towards the citadel, he ordered the men that bore the litter to proceed to the theatre; and bidding farewell to Amoebeus and the wedding, he walked up to the fort, much faſter than could have been expected from a man of his years. Finding the gate barred, he knocked with his ſtaff, and commanded the guard to open it. Surprized at the ſight of him,

they

they complied; and thus he became maſter of the place. He was not able to contain his joy on that occaſion: he drank and revelled in the open ſtreets, and in the market-place, attended with female muſicians, and crowned with flowers. When we ſee a man of his age, who had experienced ſuch changes of fortune, carouſe and indulge his tranſports, embracing and ſaluting every one he meets, we muſt acknowledge that unexpected joy raiſes greater tumults in an unbalanced mind, and overſets it ſooner than either fear or ſorrow.

Antigonus having in this manner made himſelf maſter of the citadel, garriſoned it with men in whom he placed the greateſt confidence, and made the philoſopher Perſaeus governor. Whilſt Alexander was living, Aratus had caſt his eye upon it, as an excellent acquiſition for his country; but, the Achaeans admitting Alexander into the league, he did not proſecute his deſign. Afterwards, however, a new occaſion preſented itſelf. There were in Corinth four brothers, natives of Syria, one of whom, named Diocles, ſerved as a ſoldier in the garriſon. The other three having ſtolen ſome of the king's money, retired to Sicyon, where they applied to one Ægias a banker, whom Aratus uſed to employ. Part of this gold they immediately diſpoſed of to him, and Erginus, one of the three, at ſeveral viſits, privately changed the reſt. Thus an acquaintance was formed between him and Ægias, who one day drew him into diſcourſe about the garriſon. Erginus told him, that as he often went up to viſit his brother, he had obſerved on the ſteepeſt ſide a ſmall winding path cut in the rock, and leading to a part of the wall much lower than the reſt. Upon this, Ægias ſaid with an air of raillery, "Why will you, my good friend, pur-
"loin the king's treaſures for ſo inconſiderable a
"ſum, when you might raiſe yourſelves to opulence
"by one hour's ſervice? Do not you know that if
"you are taken, you will as certainly be put to death

"for

" for this trifling theft, as if you had betrayed the " citadel?" Erginus laughed at the hint, and promiſed to ſound his brother Diocles upon the ſubject; for he could not, he ſaid, place much confidence in the other two.

A few days after this he returned, and had an interview with Aratus, at which it was agreed that he ſhould conduct him to a part of the wall that was not above fifteen feet high, and that both he and his brother Diocles ſhould aſſiſt him in the reſt of the enterprize. Aratus, on his part, promiſed to give them ſixty talents, if he ſucceeded; and in caſe they failed, and yet returned all ſafe to Sicyon, he engaged that each of them ſhould have a houſe and one talent. As it was neceſſary that the ſixty talents ſhould be depoſited in the hands of Ægias, for the ſatisfaction of Erginus, and as Aratus neither had ſuch a ſum, nor choſe to borrow it, becauſe that might create ſome ſuſpicion of his intentions, he took moſt of his plate and his wife's jewels, and pledged them with Ægias for the money. Such was the greatneſs of his ſoul, ſuch his paſſion for high atchievements, that knowing that Phocion and Epaminondas were accounted the juſteſt and moſt excellent of all the Greeks, for refuſing great preſents, and not ſacrificing virtue to money, he aſcended a ſtep higher. He privately gave money; he embarked his eſtate in an enterprize, where he alone was to expoſe himſelf for the many, who were not even apprized of his intentions in their favour. Who then can ſufficiently admire his magnanimity? Who is there, even in our days, that is not fired with an ambition to imitate the man who purchaſed ſo much danger at ſo great an expence, who pledged the moſt valuable of his goods for the ſake of being introduced by night amongſt enemies, where he was to fight for his life, without any other equivalent than the hope of performing a great action?

This undertaking, which was dangerous enough in itſelf, became more ſo by a miſtake which they committed

mitted in the beginning. Technon, one of Aratus's ſervants, of whom we have already ſpoken, was ſent before to Diocles, that they might reconnoitre the wall together. He had never ſeen Diocles, but he thought he ſhould eaſily know him by the marks that Erginus had given, which were curled hair, a ſwarthy complexion, and want of beard. He went therefore to the place appointed, and ſat down before the city at a point called *Ornis*, to wait for Erginus and his brother Diocles. In the mean time Dionyſius, their eldeſt brother, who knew nothing of the affair, happened to come up. He greatly reſembled Diocles; and Technon, ſtruck with his appearance, which anſwered the deſcription, aſked him if he had any connection with Erginus? He ſaid he was his brother; upon which, Technon, thoroughly perſuaded that he was ſpeaking to Diocles, without aſking him his name, or waiting for any token, gave him his hand, mentioned to him the circumſtance of the appointment with Erginus, and aſked him many queſtions about it. Dionyſius availed himſelf very artfully of the miſtake, agreed to every point, and returning towards the city, held him in diſcourſe without giving him the leaſt cauſe of ſuſpicion. They were now near the town, and he was on the point of ſeizing Technon, when by good fortune Erginus met them, and perceiving how much his friend was impoſed upon, and the great danger he was in, beckoned to him to make his eſcape. Accordingly they both fled, and got ſafe to Aratus. However, Aratus did not give up his hopes, but immediately ſent Erginus to Dionyſius, to offer him money and intreat him to be ſilent; in which he ſucceeded ſo well, that he brought Dionyſius along with him to Aratus. When they had him in their hands, they did not think it ſafe to part with him; they bound and ſet a guard on him in a ſmall apartment, and then prepared for their principal deſign.

When every thing was ready, Aratus ordered his troops to paſs the night under arms; and taking with him

him four hundred picked men, few of whom knew the buſineſs they were going about, he led them to the gates of the city near the temple of Juno. It was then about the middle of ſummer, the moon at the full, and the night without the leaſt cloud. As their arms glittered with the reflection of the moon, they were afraid that circumſtance would diſcover them to the watch. The foremoſt of them were now near the walls, when clouds aroſe from the ſea, and covered the city and its environs. The men ſat down and took off their ſhoes, that they might make the leſs noiſe, and mount the ladders without danger of ſlipping. But Erginus took with him ſeven young men in the habit of travellers, and getting unobſerved to the gate, killed the keeper and the guard that were with him. At the ſame time the ladders were applied to the walls, and Aratus, with an hundred men, got over with the utmoſt expedition. The reſt he commanded to follow in the beſt manner they could; and having immediately drawn up his ladders, he marched at the head of his party through the town towards the citadel, confident of ſucceſs, becauſe he was not diſcovered.

As they advanced they met four of the watch with a light, which gave Aratus a full and timely view of them, while he and his company could not be ſeen by them, becauſe the moon was ſtill overclouded: he therefore retired under ſome ruined walls, and lay in ambuſh for them. Three out of the four were killed; but the other, after he had received a cut upon his head, ran off, crying that the enemy was in the city. A little after, the trumpets ſounded, and the whole town was in motion on the alarm. The ſtreets were filled with people running up and down; and ſo many lights were brought out, both in the lower town and in the citadel, that the whole was illuminated, and a confuſed noiſe was heard from every quarter. Aratus went on, notwithſtanding, and attempted the way up the rock. He proceeded

in a ſlow and difficult manner at firſt, becauſe he had loſt the path which lay deep beneath the craggy parts of the rock, and led to the wall by a great variety of windings and turnings. But at that moment, the moon, as it were by miracle, is ſaid to have diſperſed the clouds, and thrown a light on the moſt obſcure part of the path, which continued till he reached the wall at the place he wanted. Then the clouds gathered afreſh, and ſhe hid her face again.

In the mean time the three hundred men whom Aratus had left by the temple of Juno, had entered the city; which they found all in an alarm, and full of lights. As they could not find the way Aratus had taken, nor trace him in the leaſt, they ſcreened themſelves under the ſhady ſide of a high rock, and waited there in great perplexity and diſtreſs. By this time Aratus was engaged with the enemy on the ramparts of the citadel, and they could diſtinguiſh the cries of combatants; but as the noiſe was echoed by the neighbouring mountains, it was uncertain from whence it firſt came. Whilſt they were in doubt what way to turn, Archelaus, who commanded the king's forces, took a conſiderable corps, and began to aſcend the hill with loud ſhouts, and trumpets ſounding, in order to attack Aratus's rear. He paſſed the party of the three hundred without perceiving them; but he was no ſooner gone by, than they roſe from an ambuſcade, fell upon him, and killing the firſt they attacked, ſo terrified the reſt, and even Archelaus himſelf, that they turned their backs, and were purſued till they entirely diſperſed.

When the party was thus victorious, Erginus came to them from their friends above, to inform them that Aratus was engaged with the enemy, who defended themſelves with great vigour, that the wall itſelf was diſputed, and that their general wanted immediate aſſiſtance. They bade him lead them to the

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place that moment; and as they aſcended, they diſcovered themſelves by their ſhouts. Thus their friends were encouraged; and the reflection of the full moon upon their arms, made their numbers appear greater to their enemies, on account of the length of the path. In the echoes of the night, too, the ſhouts ſeemed to come from a much larger party. At laſt they joined Aratus, and with an united effort beat off the enemy, and took poſt upon the wall. At break of day the citadel was their own, and the firſt rays of the ſun did honour to their victory. At the ſame time the reſt of Aratus's forces arrived from Sicyon: the Corinthians readily opened their gates to them, and aſſiſted in taking the king's ſoldiers priſoners.

When he thought his victory complete, he went down from the citadel to the theatre; an innumerable multitude crowding to ſee him, and to hear the ſpeech that he would make to the Corinthians. After he had diſpoſed the Achaeans on each ſide of the avenues to the theatre, he came from behind the ſcenes, and made his appearance in his armour. But he was ſo much changed by labour and watching, that the joy and elevation which his ſucceſs might have inſpired, was weighed down by the extreme fatigue of his ſpirits. On his appearance, the people immediately began to expreſs their high ſenſe of his ſervices; upon which, he took his ſpear in his right hand, and leaning his body and one knee a little againſt it, remained a long time in that poſture ſilent, to receive their plaudits and acclamations, their praiſes of his virtue, and compliments on his good fortune.

After their firſt tranſports were over, and he perceived that he could be heard, he ſummoned the ſtrength he had left, and made a ſpeech in the name of the Achaeans ſuitable to the great event; perſuaded the Corinthians to join the league, and delivered to them the keys of their city, which they had not

been maſters of ſince the time of Philip. As to the generals of Antigonus, he ſet Archelaus, who was his priſoner, free; but he put Theophraſtus to death, becauſe he refuſed to leave Corinth. Perſaeus, on the taking of the citadel, made his eſcape to Cenchreae. Some time after, when he was amuſing himſelf with diſputations in philoſophy, and ſome perſon advanced this poſition, 'None but the wiſe man is 'fit to be a general.' "It is true," he ſaid, "and "the Gods know it, that this maxim of Zeno's once "pleaſed me more than all the reſt; but I have "changed my opinion, ſince I was better taught "by the young Sicyonian." This circumſtance concerning Perſaeus we have from many hiſtorians.

Aratus immediately ſeized the *Heraeum*, or temple of Juno, and the harbour of Lechaeum, in which he took twenty-five of the king's ſhips. He took alſo five hundred horſes, and four hundred Syrians whom he ſold. The Achaeans put a garriſon of four hundred men in the citadel of Corinth, which was ſtrengthened with fifty dogs, and as many men to keep them.

The Romans were great admirers of Philopoemen, and called him *the laſt of the Greeks*; not allowing that there was any great man amongſt that people after him. But, in my opinion, this exploit of Aratus is the laſt which the Greeks have to boaſt of. Indeed, whether we conſider the boldneſs of the enterprize, or the good fortune which attended it, it equals the greateſt upon record. The ſame appears from its immediate conſequences; the Megarenſians revolted from Antigonus, and joined Aratus; the Troezenians and Epidaurians, too, ranged themſelves on the ſide of the Achaeans.

In his firſt expedition beyond the bounds of Peloponneſus, Aratus over-ran Attica, and paſſing into Salamis, ravaged that iſland; ſo that the Achaean forces thought themſelves eſcaped, as it were, out of a priſon, and followed him wherever he pleaſed. On this

this occaſion he ſet the Athenian priſoners free without ranſom, by which he ſowed amongſt them the firſt ſeeds of defection from the Macedonians. He brought Ptoleſmy likewiſe into the Achaean league, by procuring him the direction of the war both by ſea and land. Such was his influence over the Achaeans, that, as the laws did not allow him to be general two years together, they appointed him every other year; and in action, as well as counſel, he had always in effect the chief command;—for they ſaw that it was not wealth, or glory, or the friendſhip of kings, or the advantage of his own country, or any thing elſe, that he preferred to the promotion of the Achaean power. He thought that cities in their ſingle capacity were weak, and that they could not provide for their defence without uniting and binding themſelves together for the common good. As the members of the body cannot be nouriſhed, or live, but by their connexion with each other, and when ſeparated pine and decay, ſo cities periſh when they break off from the community to which they belonged; and, on the contrary, gather ſtrength and power, by becoming parts of ſome great body, and enjoying the fruits of the wiſdom of the whole*.

Obſerving, therefore, that all the braveſt people in his neighbourhood lived according to their own laws, it gave him pain to ſee the Argives in ſlavery, and he took meaſures for deſtroying their tyrant

* We ſhall here give the reader an account of ſome laws, by which the Achaean ſtates were governed. 1. An extraordinary aſſembly was not to be ſummoned at the requeſt of foreign ambaſſadors, unleſs they firſt notified, in writing, to the *Practor* and *Demiurgi*, the ſubject of their embaſſy. 2. No city, ſubject to the league, was to ſend any embaſſy to a foreign prince or ſtate, without the conſent and approbation of the general diet. 3. No member of the aſſembly was to accept of preſents from foreign princes, under any pretence whatſoever. 4. No prince, ſtate, or city, was to be admitted into the league, without the conſent of the whole alliance. 5. The general aſſembly was not to ſit above three days.

Ariſtomachus *. Beſides, he was ambitious of reſtoring Argos to its liberty, as a reward for the education it had afforded him, and to unite it to the Achaean league. Without much difficulty he found them hardy enough to undertake the commiſſion, at the head of whom was Æſchylus, and Charimenes the diviner; but they had no ſwords; for they were forbidden to keep arms, and the tyrant had laid great penalties on ſuch as ſhould be found to have any in their poſſeſſion. To ſupply this defect, Aratus provided ſeveral daggers for them at Corinth, and having ſewed them up in the pack-ſaddles of horſes that were to carry ſome ordinary wares, they were by that ſtratagem conveyed to Argos. In the mean time Charimenes taking in another of his friends as a partner, Æſchylus and his aſſociates were ſo much provoked, that they caſt him off, and determined to do the buſineſs by themſelves: but Charimenes perceiving their intention, in reſentment of the ſlight, informed the tyrant of their purpoſe, when they were ſet out to put it in execution. Upon which they fled with precipitation, and moſt of them eſcaped to Corinth.

It was not long, however, before Ariſtomachus was diſpatched by one of his own ſervants; but before any meaſures could be taken to guard againſt tyranny, Ariſtippus took the reins, and proved a worſe tyrant than the former. Aratus, indeed, marched † immediately to Argos with all the Achaeans that were able to bear arms, in order to ſupport the citizens, whom he doubted not to find ready to aſſert their liberty. But they had been long accuſtomed to the yoke, and were willing to be ſlaves; inſomuch that not one of them joined him;

* This Ariſtomachus muſt not be confounded with him who was thrown into the ſea at Cenchreae. Between them reigned Ariſtippus.

† Polybius places this attempt for the relief of Argos under the ſecond Ariſtomachus. *Vid.* POLYB. lib. ii.

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and he returned with the inconvenience of bringing a charge upon the Achaeans, that they had committed acts of hoſtility in time of full peace; for they were ſummoned to anſwer for this injuſtice before the Mantineans.

Aratus did not appear at the trial; and Ariſtippus being the proſecutor, got a fine of thirty *minae* laid upon the Achaeans. As that tyrant both hated and feared Aratus, he meditated his death; and Antigonus entered into the ſcheme. They had their emiſſaries in almoſt every quarter, watching their opportunity. But the ſureſt guard for a prince, or other chief, is the ſincere affection of his people; for when the commons and the nobility, inſtead of fearing their chief magiſtrate, fear for him, he ſees with many eyes, and hears with many ears. And here I cannot but leave a little the thread of my ſtory, to deſcribe that manner of life which Ariſtippus was under a neceſſity of leading, if he choſe to keep in his hands that deſpotiſm, that ſtate of an arbitrary ſovereign, which is commonly ſo much envied, and admired as the higheſt pitch of happineſs.

This tyrant, who had Antigonus for his ally, who kept ſo large a body-guard, and had not left one of his enemies alive in the city, would not ſuffer his guards to do duty in the palace, but only in the veſtibule and porticoes about it. When ſupper was over, he ſent away all his ſervants, barred the door of the hall himſelf, and with his miſtreſs crept through a trap-door into a ſmall chamber above. Upon that door he placed his bed, and ſlept there as a perſon in his anxious ſtate of mind may be ſuppoſed to ſleep. The ladder by which he went up, his miſtreſs's mother took away, and ſecured in another room till morning; when ſhe brought it again, and called up this wonderful prince, who crept like a reptile out of his hole. Whereas, Aratus, who acquired a laſting command, not by force of arms, but by virtue, and in a way agreeable to the laws; who

made his appearance without fear in a plain veſt and cloke, and always ſhewed himſelf an enemy to tyrants, left an illuſtrious poſterity amongſt the Greeks, which flouriſhes at this day. But of thoſe who have ſeized caſtles, who have maintained guards, who have fenced themſelves with arms, and gates, and barricadoes, how few can we reckon up that have not, like timorous hares, died a violent death; and not one of them has left a family, or even a monument to preſerve his memory with honour.

Aratus made many attempts, both private and open, to pull down Ariſtippus, and reſcue Argos out of his hands; but he always miſcarried. Once he applied his ſcaling ladders, and ſcaled the wall with a ſmall party, in ſpite of the extreme danger that threatened him. He even ſucceeded ſo far as to kill the guards that came to oppoſe him: but when day appeared, and the tyrant attacked him on all ſides, the people of Argos, as if they had not been fighting for their liberty, and they were only preſiding at the Nemean games, ſat very impartial ſpectators of the action, without making the leaſt motion to aſſiſt. Aratus defended himſelf with great courage; and though he had his thigh run through with a ſpear, he maintained his poſt all day againſt ſuch ſuperior numbers. Would his ſtrength have permitted him to continue the combat in the night too, he muſt have carried his point; for the tyrant now thought of nothing but making his eſcape, and had already ſent moſt of his treaſure on board his ſhips. However, as no one gave Aratus intelligence of this circumſtance, as his water failed, and his wound diſqualified him for any farther efforts, he called off his men and retired.

He now deſpaired of ſucceeding by way of ſurprize, and therefore openly entered the territories of Argos with his army, and committed great devaſtations. He fought a pitched battle with Ariſtippus near the river Chares; and on that occaſion he was cen-

cenſured for deſerting the action, and letting the victory ſlip out of his hands: for one part of his army had clearly the advantage, and was advancing faſt in the purſuit; when he, without being overpowered where he acted in perſon, merely out of fear and diffidence, retired in great diſorder to his camp. His men, on their return from the purſuit, expreſſed their indignation at being prevented from erecting the trophy, after they had put the enemy to flight, and killed many more men than they had loſt. Aratus, wounded with theſe reproaches, determined to riſque a ſecond battle for the trophy. Accordingly, after his men had reſted one day, he drew them out the next. But finding that the enemy's numbers were increaſed, and that their troops were in much higher ſpirits than before, he durſt not venture upon an action, but retreated, after having obtained a truce to carry off the dead. However, by his engaging manners, and his abilities in the adminiſtration, he obviated the conſequences of this error, and added the city of Cleonae to the Achaean league. In Cleonae he cauſed the Nemean games to be celebrated; for he thought that city had the beſt and moſt ancient claim to them. The people of Argos likewiſe exhibited them; and on this occaſion the freedom and ſecurity which had been the privilege of the champions, were firſt violated. The Achaeans conſidered as enemies all that had repaired to the games at Argos; and having ſeized them as they paſſed through their territories, ſold them for ſlaves. So violent and implacable was their general's hatred of tyrants.

Not long after, Aratus had intelligence that Ariſtippus had a deſign upon Cleonae, but that he was afraid of him, becauſe he then reſided at Corinth, which was very near Cleonae. In this caſe he aſſembled his forces by proclamation, and having ordered them to take proviſions for ſeveral days, marched to Cenchreae. By this manœuvre he hoped

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to bring Ariſtippus againſt Cleonae, as ſuppoſing him at a diſtance; and it had its effect. The tyrant immediately ſet out from Argos with his army. But it was no ſooner dark, than Aratus returned from Cenchrae to Corinth, and having placed guards in all the roads, led on the Achaeans, who followed him in ſuch good order, and with ſo much celerity and pleaſure, that they not only made their march, but entered Cleonae that night, and put themſelves in order of battle; nor did Ariſtippus gain the leaſt knowledge of this movement.

Next morning at break of day the gates were opened, the trumpet ſounded, and Aratus advancing at full ſpeed, and with all the alarm of war, fell upon the enemy, and ſoon routed them. Then he went upon the purſuit, particularly that way which he imagined Ariſtippus might take; for the country had ſeveral outlets. The purſuit was continued as far as Mycenae; and the tyrant, as Dinias tells us, was overtaken and killed by a Cretan named Tragiſcus; and of his army there were above fifteen hundred ſlain. Aratus, though he had gained this important victory without the loſs of one man, could not make himſelf maſter of Argos, nor deliver it from ſlavery; for Agis and young Ariſtomachus entered it with the king of Macedon's troops, and held it in ſubjection.

This action ſilenced in a great meaſure the calumny of the enemy, and put a ſtop to the inſolent ſcoffs of thoſe who, to flatter the tyrants, had not ſcrupled to ſay, that whenever the Achaean general prepared for battle, his bowels loſt their retentive faculty; that when the trumpet ſounded, his eyes grew dim, and his head giddy; and that when he had given the word, he uſed to aſk his lieutenants, and other officers, what farther need there could be of him, ſince the die was caſt, and whether he might not retire, and wait the event of the day at ſome diſtance. Theſe reports had prevailed ſo much, that the philoſophers,

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in their enquiries in the ſchools whether the palpitation of the heart and change of colour, on the appearance of danger, were arguments of cowardice, or only of ſome natural defect, ſome coldneſs in the conſtitution, uſed always to quote Aratus as an excellent general, who yet was always ſubject to theſe emotions on occaſion of a battle.

After he had deſtroyed Ariſtippus, he ſought means to depoſe Lyſiades the Megalopolitan, who had aſſumed the ſupreme power in his native city. This man had ſomething generous in his nature, and was not inſenſible to true honour. He had not, like moſt other tyrants, committed this injuſtice out of a love of licentious pleaſure, or from a motive of avarice; but incited, when very young, by a paſſion for glory, and unadviſedly believing the falſe and vain accounts of the wonderous happineſs of arbitrary power, he had made it his buſineſs to uſurp it. However, he ſoon felt it a heavy burthen; and being at once deſirous to gain the happineſs which Aratus enjoyed, and to deliver himſelf from the fear of his intriguing ſpirit, he formed the nobleſt reſolution that can be conceived, which was firſt to deliver himſelf from the hatred, the fears, and the guards that encompaſſed him, and then to beſtow the greateſt bleſſing on his country. In conſequence hereof, he ſent for Aratus, laid down the authority he had aſſumed, and joined the city to the Achaean league. The Achaeans, charmed with his noble ſpirit, thought it not too great a compliment to elect him general. He was no ſooner appointed, than he diſcovered an ambition to raiſe his name above that of Aratus, and was by that means led to ſeveral unneceſſary attempts, particularly to declare war againſt the Lacedaemonians. Aratus endeavoured to prevent it; but his oppoſition was thought to proceed from envy. Lyſiades was choſen general a ſecond time, though Aratus exerted all his intereſt to get that appointment

pointment for another; for, as we have already obſerved, he had the command himſelf only every other year. Lyſiades was fortunate enough to gain that commiſſion a third time, enjoying it alternately with Aratus. But at laſt avowing himſelf his enemy, and often accuſing him to the Achaeans in full council, that people caſt him off; for he appeared with only an aſſumed character to contend againſt real and ſincere virtue. Æſop tells us, "that the "cuckoo one day aſked the little birds why they "avoided her; and they anſwered, it was becauſe "they feared ſhe would at laſt prove a hawk."— In like manner it happened to Lyſiades. It was ſuſpected that, as he had been once a tyrant, his laying down his power was not quite a voluntary thing, and that he would be glad to take the firſt opportunity to reſume it.

Aratus acquired new glory in the war with the Ætolians. The Achaeans preſſed him to engage them on the confines of Megara; and Agis, king of the Lacedaemonians, who attended with an army, joined his inſtances to theirs; but he would not conſent. They reproached him with want of ſpirit, with cowardice; they tried what the weapons of ridicule could do; but he bore all their attacks with patience, and would not ſacrifice the real good of the community to the fear of ſeeming diſgrace. Upon this principle he ſuffered the Ætolians to paſs mount Gerania, and to enter Peloponneſus without the leaſt reſiſtance. But when he found that in their march they had ſeized Pellene, he was no longer the ſame man. Without the leaſt delay, without waiting till all his forces were aſſembled, he advanced with thoſe he had at hand againſt the enemy, who were much weakened by their late acquiſition; for it had occaſioned the utmoſt diſorder and miſrule. They had no ſooner entered the city, than the private men diſperſed themſelves in the houſes, and began to ſcramble and fight for the booty, while the generals

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and other officers ſeized the wives and daughters of the inhabitants; and each put his helmet on the head of his prize, as a mark to whom ſhe belonged, and to prevent her coming into the hands of another.

While they were thus employed, news was brought that Aratus was at hand, and ready to fall upon them. The conſternation was ſuch as might be expected amongſt men in extreme diſorder. Before they were all apprized of their danger, thoſe that were about the gates and in the ſuburbs had ſkirmiſhed a few moments with the Achaeans, and were put to flight: and the precipitation with which they fled, greatly diſtreſſed thoſe who had aſſembled to ſupport them. During this confuſion, one of the captives, daughter to Epigethes, a perſon of great eminence in Pellene, who was remarkable for her beauty and majeſtic mien, was ſeated in the temple of Diana, where the officer, whoſe prize ſhe was, had placed her, after having put his helmet, which was adorned with three plumes of feathers, on her head. This lady, hearing the noiſe and tumult, ran out ſuddenly to ſee what was the cauſe. As ſhe ſtood at the door of the temple, and looked down upon the combatants, with the helmet ſtill upon her head, ſhe appeared to the citizens a figure more than human; and the enemy took her for a deity: which ſtruck the latter with ſuch terror and aſtoniſhment, that they were no longer able to uſe their arms.

The Pelleneans tell us that the ſtatue of the goddeſs ſtands commonly untouched, and that when the prieſteſs moves it out of the temple, in order to carry it in proceſſion, none dare look it in the face, but, on the contrary, they turn away their eyes with great care; for it is not only a terrible and dangerous ſight to mankind, but its look renders trees barren, and blaſts the fruits where it paſſes. They add, that the prieſteſs carried it out on this occaſion, and always turning the face directly towards the Ætolians, filled them with horror, and deprived them of their

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ſenſes. But Aratus, in his Commentaries, makes no mention of any ſuch circumſtance: he only ſays that he put the Ætolians to flight, and entering the town with the fugitives, diſlodged them by dint of ſword, and killed ſeven hundred. This action was one of the moſt celebrated in hiſtory; Timanthes the painter gave a very lively and excellent repreſentation of it.

However, as many powerful ſtates were combining againſt the Achæans, Aratus haſtened to make peace with the Ætolians, which he not only effected with the aſſiſtance of Pantaleon, one of the moſt powerful men amongſt them, but likewiſe entered into an alliance offenſive and defenſive. He had a ſtrong deſire to reſtore Athens to its liberty; and expoſed himſelf to the ſevereſt cenſures of the Achaeans by attempting to ſurprize the Piraeus, while there was a truce ſubſiſting between them and the Macedonians. Cratus, indeed, in his Commentaries, denies the fact, and lays the blame upon Erginus, with whom he took the citadel of Corinth. He ſays, it was the peculiar ſcheme of Erginus to attempt that port; that, his ladder breaking, he miſcarried, and was purſued; and that to ſave himſelf, he often called upon Aratus, as if preſent; by which artifice he deceived the enemy, and eſcaped. But this defence of his wants probability to ſupport it. It is not likely that Erginus, a private man, a Syrian, would have formed a deſign of ſuch conſequence, without having Aratus at the head of it, to ſupply him with troops, and to point out the opportunity for the attack. Nay, Aratus proved the ſame againſt himſelf, by making not only two or three, but many more attempts upon the Piraeus. Like a perſon violently in love, his miſcarriages did not prevail upon him to deſiſt; for, as his hopes were diſappointed only by the failure perhaps of a ſingle circumſtance, and he was always within a little of ſucceeding, he ſtill encouraged himſelf to go on. In one repulſe, as he fled over the fields of Thriaſium, he broke his leg; and the cure

could

could not be effected, without ſeveral inciſions; ſo that, for ſome time after, when he was called to action, he was carried into the field in a litter.

After the death of Antigonus, and Demetrius's acceſſion to the throne, Aratus was more intent than ever on delivering Athens from the yoke; and conceived an utter contempt for the Macedonians. He was, however, defeated in a battle near Phylacia, by Bithys, the new king's general; and a ſtrong report being ſpread on one ſide that he was taken priſoner, and on another, that he was dead, Diogenes, who commanded in the Piraeus, wrote a letter to Corinth, inſiſting, "that the Achaeans ſhould evacuate the place, ſince Aratus was no more." Aratus happened to be at Corinth when the letter arrived; and the meſſengers finding that their buſineſs occaſioned much laughter and ſatirical diſcourſe, retired in great confuſion. The king of Macedon himſelf, too, ſent a ſhip with orders, "that Aratus ſhould be brought to him in chains."

The Athenians exceeding themſelves in flattery to the Macedonians, wore chaplets of flowers, upon the firſt report of Aratus's death. Incenſed at this treatment, he immediately marched out againſt them, and proceeded as far as the Academy. But they implored him to ſpare them; and he returned without doing them the leaſt injury. This made the Athenians ſenſible of his virtue; and, as upon the death of Demetrius they were determined to make an attempt for liberty, they called him in to their aſſiſtance. Though he was not general of the Achaeans that year, and was ſo much indiſpoſed beſides, by long ſickneſs, as to be forced to keep his bed, yet he cauſed himſelf to be carried in a litter, to render them his beſt ſervices. Accordingly he prevailed upon Diogenes, who commanded the garriſon, to give up the Piraeus, Munychia, Salamis, and Sunium, to the Athenians, for the conſideration of a hundred and fifty talents, twenty of which Aratus

himſelf

himſelf furniſhed. Upon this, the Æginetae and Hermionians joined the Achaeans; and great part of Arcadia paid contributions to the league. The Macedonians now found employment enough for their arms nearer home, and the Achaeans, numbering the Ætolians amongſt their allies, found a great addition to their power.

Aratus ſtill proceeded upon his old principles; and in his uneaſineſs to ſee tyranny eſtabliſhed in a city ſo near him as that of Argos, ſent his agents to Ariſtomachus, to repreſent "how advantageous a thing "it would be for him to reſtore that city to liberty, "and join it to the Achaean league; how noble to "follow the example of Lyſiades, and command "ſo great a people with reputation and honour, as "the general of their choice, rather than one city "as a tyrant expoſed to perpetual danger and hat-"red." Ariſtomachus liſtened to their ſuggeſtions, and deſired Aratus to ſend him fifty talents to pay off his troops. The money was granted agreeably to his requeſt; but Lyſiades, whoſe commiſſion as general was not expired, and who was ambitious to have this negotiation paſs with the Achaeans for his work, took an opportunity, while the money was providing, to accuſe Aratus to Ariſtomachus, as a perſon that had an implacable averſion to tyrants, and to adviſe him rather to put the buſineſs into his hands. Ariſtomachus believed theſe ſuggeſtions; and Lyſiades had the honour of introducing him to the league. But on this occaſion eſpecially, the Achaean council ſhewed their affection and fidelity to Aratus: for, upon his ſpeaking againſt Ariſtomachus, they rejected him with marks of reſentment. Afterwards, when Aratus was prevailed upon to manage the affair, they readily accepted the propoſal, and paſſed a decree, by which the Argives and Phliaſians were admitted into the league. The year following, too, Ariſtomachus was appointed general.

Ariſ-

Ariſtomachus finding himſelf eſteemed by the Achaeans, was deſirous of carrying his arms into Laconia; for which purpoſe he ſent for Aratus from Athens. Aratus made anſwer, that he utterly diſapproved the expedition, not chuſing that the Achaeans ſhould engage with Cleomenes *, whoſe ſpirit and power kept growing in proportion to the dangers he had to encounter. Ariſtomachus, however, was bent upon the enterprize, and Aratus, yielding to his ſolicitations, returned to aſſiſt him in the war. Cleomenes offered him battle at Pallantium; but Aratus prevented him from accepting the challenge. Hereupon, Lyſiades accuſed Aratus to the Acheans, and the year following declared himſelf his competitor for the command; but Aratus had the majority of votes, and was, for the twelfth time, declared general.

This year he was defeated by Cleomenes at Mount Lycaeum: and, in his flight, being forced to wander about in the night, he was ſuppoſed to be killed. This was the ſecond time that a report of his death ſpread over Greece. He ſaved himſelf, however; and having collected the ſcattered remains of his forces, was not ſatisfied with retiring unmoleſted: on the contrary, he availed himſelf in the beſt manner of his opportunity; and when none expected, or even thought of ſuch a manœuvre, fell ſuddenly upon the Mantineans, who were allies to Cleomenes, took their city, ſecured it with a garriſon, and declared all the ſtrangers he found there, free of the city. In ſhort, he acquired that for the Achaeans when beaten, which they could not eaſily have gained when victorious.

* Some authors write, that Cleomenes, at the inſtigation of the Ætolians, had built a fortreſs in the territory of the Megalopolitans, called *Athenaeum*; which the Achaeans conſidered as an open rupture; and therefore declared, in a general aſſembly, that the Lacedaemonians ſhould be conſidered as enemies.

The Lacedaemonians again entering the territories of Megalopolis, he marched to relieve that city. Cleomenes endeavoured to bring him to an engagement; but he declined it, though the Megalopolitans preſſed him much to leave the matter to the deciſion of the ſword: for, beſides that he was never very fit for diſputes in the open field, he was now inferior in numbers; and at a time of life when his ſpirits began to fail, and his ambition was ſubdued, he would have had to do with a young man of the moſt adventurous courage. He thought too, that, if Cleomenes, by his boldneſs, ſought to acquire glory, it became *him*, by his caution, to keep that which he had.

One day the light infantry ſkirmiſhed with the Spartans; and having driven them to their camp, entered it with them, and began to plunder. Aratus even then would not lead on the main body, but kept his men on the other ſide of a defile that lay between, and would not ſuffer them to paſs. Lyſiades, incenſed at this order, and reproaching him with cowardice, called upon the cavalry to ſupport the party which was in purſuit of the enemy, and not to betray the victory, nor to deſert a man who was going to hazard all for his country. Many of the beſt men in the army followed him to the charge; which was ſo vigorous, that he put the right wing of the Lacedaemonians to flight. But, in the ardour of his courage, and his ambition for honour, he went inconſiderately upon the purſuit, till he fell into an intricate way, obſtructed with trees, and interſected with large ditches. Cleomenes attacked him in this ground, and ſlew him, after he had maintained the moſt glorious of all combats, the combat for his people, almoſt at their own doors. The reſt of the cavalry fled, and turning back upon the main body, put the infantry in diſorder, ſo that the route became general.

This

This loſs was principally aſcribed to Aratus; for he was thought to have abandoned Lyſiades to his fate. The Achaeans, therefore, retired in great anger, and obliged him to follow them to Ægium. There it was decreed in full council, that he ſhould be ſupplied with no more money, nor have any mercenaries maintained; and that if he would go to war, he muſt find reſources for it himſelf. Thus ignominiouſly treated, he was inclined to give up the ſeal, and reſign his command immediately; but, upon more mature conſideration, he thought it better to bear the affront with patience. Soon after this, he led the Achaeans to Orchomenus, where he gave battle to Megiſtonus, father-in-law to Cleomenes, killed three hundred of his men, and took him priſoner.

It had been cuſtomary with him to take the command every other year; but when his turn came, and he was called upon to reſume it, he abſolutely refuſed, and Timoxenus was appointed general. The reaſon commonly given for his rejecting that commiſſion, was his reſentment againſt the people for the late diſhonour they had done him; but the real cauſe was the bad poſture of the Achaean affairs. Cleomenes no longer advanced by inſenſible ſteps: he had no meaſures now to keep with the magiſtrates at home, nor any thing to fear from their oppoſition; for he had put the *Ephori* to death, diſtributed the lands in equal portions, and admitted many ſtrangers citizens of Sparta. After he had made himſelf abſolute maſter by theſe means at home, he marched into Achia, and inſiſted on being appointed general of the league. Aratus, therefore, is highly blamed, when affairs were in ſuch a tempeſtuous ſtate, for giving up the helm to another pilot; whereas he ought rather to have taken it by force to ſave the community from ſinking. Or, if he thought the Achaean power beyond the poſſibility of being retrieved, he ſhould have yielded to Cleomenes,

and not have brought Peloponneſus into a ſtate of barbariſm again with Macedonian garriſons, nor filled the citadel of Corinth with Illyrian and Gauliſh arms: for this was making thoſe men to whom he had ſhewn himſelf ſuperior, both in his military and political capacity, and whom he vilified ſo much in his Commentaries, maſters of his cities, under the ſofter, but falſe name of allies. It may be ſaid, perhaps, that Cleomenes wanted juſtice, and was tyrannically inclined; let us grant it for a moment: yet he was a deſcendant of the Heraclidæ, and his country was Sparta; the meaneſt citizen of which ſhould have been preferred as general of the league to the firſt of the Macedonians, at leaſt by thoſe who ſet any value on the dignity of Greece. Beſides, Cleomenes aſked for the command * amongſt the Acheans, only to make their cities happy in his ſervices, in return for the honour of the title; whereas Antigonus, though declared commander in chief both by ſea and land, would not accept the commiſſion, till he was paid with the citadel of Corinth; in which he perfectly reſembled Æſop's † hunter; for he would not ride the Achaeans, though they offered their backs, and though by embaſſies and decrees they courted him to do it, till he had firſt bridled them by his garriſon, and by the hoſtages which they were obliged to deliver to him.

It is true, Aratus labours to juſtify himſelf by the neceſſity of affairs. But Polybius aſſures us, that, long before that neceſſity exiſted, he had been afraid of the daring ſpirit of Cleomenes, and had not only

* Perhaps, Aratus was apprehenſive that Cleomenes would endeavour to make himſelf abſolute amongſt the Achaeans, as he was already in Lacedaemon. There was a poſſibility, however, of his behaving with honour as general of the Achaeans; whereas, from Antigonus nothing could be expected but chains.

† Horace gives us this fable of Æſop's; but, before Æſop, the poet Steſichorus is ſaid to have applied it to the Himerians, when they were going to raiſe a guard for Phalaris.

treated

treated with Antigonus in private, but drawn in the Megalopolitans to propoſe it to the general aſſembly of the Achaeans, that Antigonus ſhould be invited to their aſſiſtance: for, whenever Cleomenes renewed his depredations, the Megalopolitans were the firſt that ſuffered by them. Phylarchus gives the ſame account; but we ſhould not have afforded him much credit, if he had not been ſupported by the teſtimony of Polybius: for, ſuch is his fondneſs for Cleomenes, that he cannot ſpeak of him but in an enthuſiaſtic manner; and, as if he was pleading a cauſe, rather than writing a hiſtory, he perpetually diſparages the one, and vindicates the other.

The Achaeans having loſt Mantinea, which Cleomenes now took a ſecond time, and being moreover defeated in a great battle at Hecatomboeum, were ſtruck with ſuch terror, that they immediately invited Cleomenes to Argos, with a promiſe of making him general. But Aratus no ſooner perceived that he was on his march, and had brought his army as far as Lerma, than his fears prevailed; and he ſent ambaſſadors to deſire him to come to the Achaeans as friends and allies, with three hundred men only. They were to add, that if he had any diſtruſt of the Achaeans, they would give him hoſtages. Cleomenes told them, they did but inſult and mock him with ſuch a meſſage; and, returning immediately, wrote a letter to the Achaean council, full of complaints and invectives againſt Aratus. Aratus wrote another againſt Cleomenes in the ſame ſtile; and they proceeded to ſuch groſs abuſe, as not to ſpare even the characters of their wives and families.

Upon this, Cleomenes ſent a herald to declare war againſt the Achaeans; and in the mean time the city of Sicyon was near being betrayed to him. Diſappointed of his expectation there, he turned againſt Pellene, diſlodged the Achaean garriſon, and ſecured the town for himſelf. A little after this he took Pheneum and Penteleum; and it was not long be-

fore the people of Argos adopted his intereſt, and the Phliaſians received his garriſon; ſo that ſcarcely any thing remained firm to the Achaeans of the dominions they had acquired; Aratus ſaw nothing but confuſion about him; all Peloponneſus was in a tottering condition: and the cities everywhere excited, by innovators, to revolt. Indeed, none were quiet or ſatisfied with their preſent circumſtances. Even amongſt the Sicyonians and Corinthians, many were found to have a correſpondence with Cleomenes, having been long diſaffected to the adminiſtration and the public utility, becauſe they wanted to get the power into their own hands. Aratus was inveſted with full authority to puniſh the delinquents. The corrupt members of Sicyon he cut off; but, by ſeeking for ſuch in Corinth, in order to put them to death, he exaſperated the people, already ſick of the ſame diſtemper, and weary of the Achaean government *. On this occaſion they aſſembled in the temple of Apollo, and ſent for Aratus; being determined either to kill him, or take him priſoner, before they proceeded to an open revolt. He came leading his horſe, as if he had not the leaſt miſtruſt or ſuſpicion. When they ſaw him at the gate, a number of them roſe up, and loaded him with reproaches. But he, with a compoſed countenance and mild addreſs, bade them ſit down again, and not, by ſtanding in the way, and making ſuch a diſorderly noiſe, prevent other citizens who were at the door from entering. At the ſame time that he ſaid this, he drew back, ſtep by ſtep, as if he was ſeeking ſomebody to take his horſe. Thus he got out of the crowd, and continued to talk, without the leaſt appearance of confuſion, to ſuch of the Corinthians as he met, and deſired them to go to the temple, till he inſenſibly approached the citadel. He then

* What wonder, when they ſaw Aratus unfaithful to his firſt principles, and going to bring them again under the Macedonian yoke!

mounted

mounted his horſe, and, without ſtopping any longer at the fort than to give his orders to Cleopater the governor, to keep a ſtrict guard upon it, he rode off to Sicyon, followed by no more than thirty ſoldiers; for the reſt had left him and diſperſed.

The Corinthians, ſoon apprized of his flight, went in purſuit of him; but failing in their deſign, they ſent for Cleomenes, and put the city into his hands. He did not, however, think this advantage equal to his loſs in their ſuffering Aratus to eſcape. As ſoon as the inhabitants of that diſtrict on the coaſt, called *Acte*, had ſurrendered their towns, he ſhut up the citadel with a wall of circumvallation, and a palliſadoed entrenchment*.

In the mean time many of the Achaeans repaired to Aratus at Sicyon, and a general aſſembly was held, in which he was choſen commander in chief, with an unlimited commiſſion. He now firſt took a guard; and it was compoſed of his fellow-citizens. He had conducted the Achaean adminiſtration three-and-thirty years; he had been the firſt man in Greece, both in power and reputation; but he now found himſelf abandoned, indigent, perſecuted, without any thing but one plank to truſt to in the ſtorm that had ſhipwrecked his country: for the Ætolians refuſed him the aſſiſtance which he requeſted; and the city of Athens, though well inclined to ſerve him, was prevented by Euclides and Micion.

Aratus had a houſe and valuable effects at Corinth. Cleomenes would not touch any thing that belonged to him; but ſent for his friends and agents, and charged them to take the utmoſt care of his affairs, as remembering that they muſt give an account to Aratus. To Aratus himſelf he privately ſent Tripylis, and afterwards his father-in-law, Megiſtonus, with great offers, and among the reſt a penſion of twelve talents, which was double the yearly allowance he had from Ptolemy. For this, he deſired to be

* απεςαυρω και περιετειχιζε.

appointed general of the Achaeans, and to be joined with him in the care of the citadel of Corinth. Aratus anſwered, "That he did not now govern affairs, but they governed him." As there appeared an inſincerity in this anſwer, Cleomenes entered the territories of Sicyon, and committed great devaſtations. He likewiſe blocked up the city for three months together; all which time Aratus was debating with himſelf whether he ſhould ſurrender the citadel to Antigonus; for he would not ſend him ſuccours on any other condition.

Before he could take his reſolution, the Achaeans met in council at Ægium, and called him to attend it. As the town was inveſted by Cleomenes, it was dangerous to paſs. The citizens intreated him not to go; and declared they would not ſuffer him to expoſe himſelf to an enemy who was watching for his prey. The matrons and their children, too, hung upon him, and wept for him as for a common parent and protector. He conſoled them, however, as well as he could, and rode down to the ſea, taking with him ten of his friends, and his ſon, who was now approaching to manhood. Finding ſome veſſels at anchor, he went on board, and arrived ſafe at Ægium. There he held an aſſembly; in which it was decreed that Antigonus ſhould be called in, and the citadel ſurrendered to him. Aratus ſent his own ſon amongſt other hoſtages; which the Corinthians ſo much reſented, that they plundered his goods, and made a preſent of his houſe to Cleomenes.

As Antigonus was now approaching with his army, which conſiſted of twenty thouſand foot, all Macedonians, and of fourteen hundred horſe, Aratus went with the Achaean * magiſtrates by ſea, and, without being diſcovered by the enemy, met him at Pegae; though he placed no great confidence in Antigonus, and diſtruſted the Macedonians; for he

* The magiſtrates called *Demiourgi*. See an account of them before.

knew

knew that his greatneſs had been owing to the miſchiefs he had done them, and that he had firſt riſen to the direction of affairs in conſequence of his hatred to old Antigonus. But ſeeing an indiſpenſable neceſſity before him, ſuch an occaſion as thoſe who ſeemed to command are forced to obey, he faced the danger. When Antigonus was told that Aratus was come in perſon, he gave the reſt a common welcome, but received him in the moſt honourable manner; and finding him upon trial to be a man of probity and prudence, took him into his moſt intimate friendſhip; for Aratus was not only ſerviceable to the king in great affairs, but in the hours of leiſure his moſt agreeable companion. Antigonus, therefore, though young, perceiving in him ſuch a temper, and ſuch other qualities as fitted him for a prince's friendſhip, preferred him not only to the reſt of the Achaeans, but even to the Macedonians that were about him, and continued to employ him in every affair of conſequence: thus the thing which the gods announced by the entrails of one of the victims was accompliſhed: for it is ſaid, that when Aratus was ſacrificing not long before, there appeared in the liver two gall-bladders encloſed in the ſame caul; upon which the diviner declared, that two enemies, who appeared the moſt irreconcileable, would ſoon be united in the ſtricteſt friendſhip. Aratus then took little notice of the ſaying, for he never put much faith in victims, nor indeed in predictions from any thing elſe, but uſed to depend upon his reaſon. Some time after, however, when the war went on ſucceſſfully, Antigonus made an entertainment at Corinth, at which, though there was a numerous company, he placed Aratus next above him. They had not ſat long, before Antigonus called for a cloke. At the ſame time he aſked Aratus, Whether he did not think it very cold? And he anſwered, "It was "extremely cold." The king then deſired him to ſit nearer; and the ſervants who brought the cloke,

put

put it over the ſhoulders of both. This putting Aratus in mind of the victim, he informed the king both of the ſign and the prediction. But this happened long after the time that we are upon.

While they were at Pegae, they took oaths of mutual fidelity, and then marched againſt the enemy. There were ſeveral actions under the walls of Corinth, in which Cleomenes had fortified himſelf ſtrongly; and the Corinthians defended the place with great vigour.

In the mean time, Ariſtotle, a citizen of Argos, and friend of Aratus, ſent an agent to him privately, with an offer of bringing that city to declare for him, if he would go thither in perſon with ſome troops. Aratus having acquainted Antigonus with the ſcheme, embarked fifteen hundred men, and ſailed immediately with them from the iſthmus to Epidaurus. But the people of Argos, without waiting for his arrival, had attacked the troops of Cleomenes, and ſhut them up in the citadel. Cleomenes having notice of this, and fearing that the enemy, if they were in poſſeſſion of Argos, might cut off his retreat to Lacedaemon, left his poſt before the citadel of Corinth that ſame night, and marched to the ſuccour of his men. He reached it before Aratus, and gained ſome advantage over the enemy; but Aratus arriving ſoon after, and the king appearing with his army, Cleomenes retired to Mantinea.

Upon this, all the cities joined the Achaeans again: Antigonus made himſelf maſter of the citadel of Corinth; and the Argives having appointed Aratus their general, he perſuaded them to give Antigonus the eſtates of the late tyrants and all the traitors. That people put Ariſtomachus to the torture* at

* Plutarch ſeems here to have followed Phylarchus. Polybius tells us that Ariſtomachus deſerved greater puniſhments than he ſuffered, not only for his extreme cruelty when tyrant of Argos, but alſo for his abandoning the Achaeans in their diſtreſs, and declaring for their enemies.

Cen-

Cenchræ, and afterwards drowned him in the ſea. Aratus was much cenſured on this occaſion, for permitting a man to ſuffer unjuſtly, who was not of a bad character, with whom he formerly had connections, and who, at his perſuaſion, had abdicated the ſupreme power, and brought Argos to unite itſelf to the Achaean league. There were other charges againſt Aratus, namely, that, at his inſtigation, the Achaeans had given the city of Corinth to Antigonus, as if it had been no more than an ordinary village; that they had ſuffered him to pillage Orchomenus, and place in it a Macedonian garriſon; that they had made a decree that their community ſhould not ſend a letter or an embaſſy to any other king, without the conſent of Antigonus; that they were forced to maintain and pay the Macedonians; and that they had ſacrifices, libations, and games, in honour of Antigonus; the fellow-citizens of Aratus ſetting the example, and receiving Antigonus into their city, on which occaſion Aratus entertained him in his houſe. For all theſe things they blamed Aratus, not conſidering that when he had once put the reins in the hands of that prince, he was neceſſarily carried along with the tide of regal power; no longer maſter of any thing but his tongue, and it was dangerous to uſe that with freedom; for he was viſibly concerned at many circumſtances of the king's conduct, particularly with reſpect to the ſtatues. Antigonus erected anew thoſe of the tyrants which Aratus had pulled down, and demoliſhed thoſe he had ſet up in memory of the brave men that ſurprized the citadel of Corinth. That of Aratus only was ſpared, notwithſtanding his interceſſion for the reſt. In the affair of Mantinea*, too, the behaviour of the Achaeans was

* The Mantineans had applied to the Achaeans for a garriſon to defend them againſt the Lacedaemonians. In compliance with their requeſt, the Achaeans ſent them three hundred of their own citizens, and two hundred mercenaries. But the Mantineans

was not ſuitable to the Grecian humanity: for having conquered it by means of Antigonus, they put the principal of the inhabitants to the ſword; ſome of the reſt they ſold, or ſent in fetters to Macedonia; and they made ſlaves of the women and children. Of the money thus raiſed, they divided a third part amongſt themſelves, and gave the reſt to the Macedonians. But this had its excuſe in the law of repriſals: for, however ſhocking it may appear for men to ſacrifice to their anger thoſe of their own nation and kindred, yet in neceſſity, as Simonides ſays, it ſeems rather a proper alleviation, than a hardſhip, to give relief to a mind inflamed and aching with reſentment. But as to what Aratus did afterwards with reſpect to Mantinea, it is impoſſible to juſtify him upon a plea either of propriety or neceſſity. For Antigonus having made a preſent of that city to the Argives, they reſolved to repeople it, and appointed Aratus to ſee it done; in virtue of which commiſſion, as well as that of general, he decreed that it ſhould no more be called Mantinea, but Antigonea; which name it ſtill bears. Thus, by his means Mantinea, *the amiable Mantinea*, as Homer calls it, was no more; and in the place of it we have a city which took its name from the man who ruined its inhabitants.

Some time after this, Cleomenes being overthrown in a great battle near Sellaſia*, quitted Sparta, and ſailed

tineans ſoon after changing their minds, in the moſt perfidious manner maſſacred that garriſon. They deſerved, therefore, all that they are here ſaid to have ſuffered; but Polybius makes no mention of the principal inhabitants being put to death; he only ſays, their goods were plundered, and ſome of the people ſold for ſlaves.

* Cleomenes had intrenched himſelf ſo ſtrongly near Sellaſia, in a narrow paſs between the mountains Eva and Olympus, that Antigonus did not think proper to attack him there. It is not eaſy to comprehend what could induce Cleomenes to come out of theſe entrenchments, and riſque a pitched battle. His troops were not ſo numerous as the enemy's by one-third; and he was ſupplied

ſailed for Egypt. As for Antigonus, after the kindeſt and moſt honourable behaviour to Aratus, he returned to Macedonia. In his ſickneſs there, which happened ſoon after his arrival, he ſent Philip, then very young, but already declared his ſucceſſor, into Peloponneſus; having firſt inſtructed him above all things to give attention to Aratus, and through him to treat with the cities, and make himſelf known to the Achaeans. Aratus received him with great honour, and managed him ſo well, that he returned to Macedonia full of ſentiments of reſpect for his friend, and in the moſt favourable diſpoſition for the intereſts of Greece.

After the death of Antigonus, the Ætolians deſpiſed the inactivity of the Achaeans; for, accuſtomed to the protection of foreign arms, and ſheltering themſelves under the Macedonian power, they ſunk into a ſtate of idleneſs and diſorder. This gave the Ætolians room to attempt a footing in Peloponneſus. By the way they made ſome booty in the country about Patrae and Dyme, and then proceeded to Meſſene and laid waſte its territories. Aratus was incenſed at this inſolence; but he perceived that Timoxenes, who was then general, took ſlow and dilatory meaſures, becauſe his year was almoſt expired. Therefore, as he was to ſucceed to the command, he anticipated his commiſſion by five days, for the ſake of aſſiſting the Meſſenians. He aſſembled the Achaeans; but they had now neither exerciſe nor courage to enable them to maintain the combat, and conſequently he was beaten in a

ſupplied with all ſorts of proviſions from Sparta. What then could make him hazard a battle, the event of which was to decide the fate of Lacedaemon! Polybius, indeed, ſeems to inſinuate the cauſe of this proceeding; for he tells us, that Ptolemy, king of Egypt, who had promiſed to aſſiſt him in this war, acquainted him that he was not in a condition to make good his engagements. And as Cleomenes did not chuſe to try the other alternative, that of ſuing to Antigonus for a peace, he riſqued all upon the event of that day.

battle

battle which he fought at Caphyae. Being accuſed of having ventured too much on this occaſion *, he became afterwards ſo cold, and ſo far abandoned his hopes for the public, as to neglect the opportunities which the Ætolians gave him, and ſuffer them to roam about Peloponneſus, in a bacchanalian manner, committing all the exceſſes that inſolence could ſuggeſt.

The Achaeans were now obliged to ſtretch out their hands again towards Macedonia, and brought Philip to interfere in the affairs of Greece. They knew the regard he had for Aratus, and the confidence he placed in him, and hoped on that account to find him tractable and eaſy in all their affairs. But the king now firſt began to liſten to Apelles, Megalacus, and other courtiers, who endeavoured to darken the character of Aratus, and prevailed upon him to ſupport the contrary party; by which means Eperatus was elected general of the Achaeans. Eperatus, however, ſoon fell into the greateſt contempt amongſt them; and as Aratus would not give any attention to their concerns, nothing went well. Philip finding

* Aratus was accuſed in the aſſembly, firſt, of having taken the command upon him before his time. In the next place, he was blamed for having diſmiſſed the Achaean troops, while the Ætolians were ſtill in the heart of Peloponneſus. The third article againſt him was, his venturing a battle with ſo few troops, when he might have made, with great eaſe, a ſafe retreat to the neighbouring towns, and there reinforced his army. The laſt and heavieſt charge againſt him was, that after he had reſolved to give the enemy battle, he did not, in the whole action, take one ſtep that became a general of any experience; for he ſent the cavalry and light-armed foot to attack the enemy's rear, after their front had gained the advantage; whereas he ought to have encountered the front at firſt, with the advantage of having them on the declivity; in which caſe his heavy-armed infantry would have done him great ſervice. However, he endeavoured to prove that the loſs of the battle was not his fault; adding that, if he had been wanting in any of the duties of an able general, he aſked pardon; and hoped that, in regard of his paſt ſervices, they would not cenſure him with rigour. This ſubmiſſion of his changed the minds of the whole aſſembly; and the people began to vent their rage upon his accuſers.

that

that he had committed a capital error, turned again to Aratus, and gave himself up entirely to his direction. As his affairs now prospered, and his power and reputation grew under the culture of Aratus, he depended entirely upon him for the farther increase of both. Indeed, it was evident to all the world that Aratus had excellent talents, not only for guiding a commonwealth, but a kingdom too; for there appeared a tincture of his principles and manners in all the conduct of this young prince. Thus, the moderation with which he treated the Spartans * after they had offended him; his engaging behaviour to the Cretans, by which he gained the whole island in a few days, and the glorious success of his expedition against the Ætolians, gained Philip the honour of knowing how to follow good counsel, and Aratus that of being able to give it.

On this account the courtiers envied him still more; and as they found that their private engines of calumny availed nothing, they began to try open battery, reviling and insulting him at table with the utmost effrontery and lowest abuse. Nay, once they threw stones at him, as he was retiring from supper to his tent. Philip, incensed at such outrage, fined them twenty talents; and upon their proceeding to disturb and embroil his affairs, put them to death.

But afterwards he was carried so high by the flow of prosperity, as to discover many disorderly passions. The native badness of his disposition broke through the veil he had put over it; and by degrees his real character appeared. In the first place he greatly injured young Aratus by corrupting his wife; and the

* The Spartans had killed one of their *Ephori*, and some others of their citizens who were in the interest of Philip; and some of his counsellors advised him to revenge the affront with rigour. But he said, that, as the Spartans now belonged to the Achaean league, they were accountable to it; and that it ill became him to treat them with severity, who were his allies, when his predecessor had extended his clemency to them, though enemies.

com-

commerce was a long time ſecret, becauſe he lived under his roof, where he had been received under the ſanction of hoſpitality. In the next place, he diſcovered a ſtrong averſion to commonwealths, and to the cities that were under that form of government. It was eaſy to be ſeen, too, that he wanted to ſhake off Aratus. The firſt ſuſpicion of his intentions aroſe from his behaviour with reſpect to the Meſſenians. There were two factions amongſt them, which had raiſed a ſedition in the city. Aratus went to reconcile them; but Philip getting to the place a day before him, added ſtings to their mutual reſentments. On the one hand, he called the magiſtrates privately, and aſked them whether they had not laws to reſtrain the rabble; and on the other, he aſked the demagogues whether they had not hands to defend them againſt tyrants. The magiſtrates, thus encouraged, attacked the chiefs of the people; and they in their turn came with ſuperior numbers, and killed the magiſtrates, with near two hundred more of their party.

After Philip had engaged in theſe deteſtable practices, which exaſperated the Meſſenians ſtill more againſt each other, Aratus, when he arrived, made no ſecret of his reſentment; nor did he reſtrain his ſon in the ſevere and diſparaging things he ſaid to Philip. The young man had once a particular attachment to Philip, which in thoſe days they diſtinguiſhed by the name of love; but on this occaſion, he ſcrupled not to tell him, "that, after ſuch a "baſe action, inſtead of appearing agreeable, he was "the moſt deformed of human kind."

Philip made no anſwer, though anger evidently was working in his boſom; and he often muttered to himſelf while the other was ſpeaking. However, he pretended to bear it with great calmneſs; and affecting to appear the man of ſubdued temper and refined manners, gave the elder Aratus his hand, and took him from the theatre to the caſtle of

Itho-

Ithome*, under pretence of ſacrificing to Jupiter and viſiting the place. This fort, which is as ſtrong as the citadel of Corinth, were it garriſoned, would greatly annoy the neighbouring country, and be almoſt impregnable. After Philip had offered his ſacrifice there, and the diviner came to ſhew him the entrails of the ox, he took them in both hands, and ſhewed them to Aratus and Demetrius of Phariae, ſometimes turning them to the one, and ſometimes to the other, and aſking them "What they ſaw in the "entrails of the victim; whether they warned him "to keep this citadel, or to reſtore it to the Meſſe-"nians?" Demetrius ſmiled, and ſaid, 'If you 'have the ſoul of a diviner, you will reſtore it; but, 'if that of a king, you will hold the bull by both 'his horns.' By which he hinted, that he muſt have Peloponneſus entirely in ſubjection, if he added Ithome to the citadel of Corinth. Aratus was a long time ſilent; but upon Philip's preſſing him to declare his opinion, he ſaid, "There are many mountains "of great ſtrength in Crete, many caſtles in Boeotia "and Phocis in lofty ſituations, and many impreg-"nable places in Acarnania, both on the coaſt and "within land. You have ſeized none of theſe, and "yet they all pay you a voluntary obedience. Rob-"bers, indeed, take to rocks and precipices for ſe-"curity; but for a king there is no ſuch fortreſs as "honour and humanity. Theſe are the things that "have opened to you the Cretan ſea; theſe have "unbarred the gates of Peloponneſus. In ſhort, "by theſe it is that, at ſo early a period in life, you "are become general of the one, and ſovereign of "the other." Whilſt he was yet ſpeaking, Philip returned the entrails to the diviner, and taking Aratus by the hand, drew him along, and ſaid, 'Come 'on then, let us go as we came;' intimating that he

* In the printed text it is *Ithomata*; which agrees with the name this fort has in Polybius; but one of the manuſcripts gives us *Ithome*, which is the name Strabo gives it.

had over-ruled him, and deprived him of ſuch an acquiſition as the city would have been.

From this time Aratus began to withdraw from the court, and by degrees to give up all correſpondence with Philip. He refuſed alſo to accompany him in his expedition into Epirus, though applied to for that purpoſe; chuſing rather to ſtay at home, leſt he ſhould ſhare in the diſrepute of his actions. But, after Philip had loſt his fleet with great diſgrace in the Roman war, and nothing ſucceeded to his wiſh, he returned to Peloponneſus, and tried once more what art could do to impoſe upon the Meſſenians. When he found that his deſigns were diſcovered, he had recourſe to open hoſtilities, and ravaged their country. Aratus then ſaw all his meanneſs, and broke with him entirely. By this time, too, he perceived that he had diſhonoured his ſon's bed; but though the injury lay heavy on him, he concealed it from his ſon, becauſe he could only inform him that he was abuſed, without being able to help him to the means of revenge. There ſeemed to be a great and unnatural change in Philip, who, of a mild and ſober young prince, became a libidinous and cruel tyrant: but in fact it was not a change of diſpoſition, it was only diſcovering in a time of full ſecurity, the vices which his fears had concealed. That his regard for Aratus had originally a great mixture of fear and reverence, appeared even in the method he took to deſtroy him; for though he was very deſirous of effecting that cruel purpoſe, becauſe he neither looked upon himſelf as an abſolute prince, nor a king, nor even a freeman, while Aratus lived, yet he would not attempt any thing againſt him in the way of open force, but deſired Faurion, one of his friends and generals, to take him off in a private manner, in his abſence. At the ſame time he recommended poiſon. That officer accordingly having formed an acquaintance with him, gave him a doſe, not of a ſharp or violent kind, but ſuch a one as cauſes lingering heats and a ſlight cough,

cough, and gradually brings the body to decay. Aratus was not ignorant of the cauſe of his diſorder; but knowing that it availed nothing to diſcover it to the world, he bore it quietly and in ſilence, as if it had been an ordinary diſtemper. Indeed, when one of his friends came to viſit him in his chamber, and expreſſed his ſurprize at ſeeing him ſpit blood, he ſaid, "Such, Cephalon, are the fruits of royal "friendſhip."

Thus died Aratus at Ægium, after he had been ſeventeen times general of the Achaeans. That people were deſirous of having him buried there, and would have thought it an honour to give him a magnificent funeral, and a monument worthy of his life and character. But the Sicyonians conſidered it as a misfortune to have him interred anywhere but amongſt them, and therefore perſuaded the Achaeans to leave the diſpoſal of the body entirely to them. As there was an ancient law that had been obſerved with religious care, againſt burying any perſon within their walls, and they were afraid to tranſgreſs it on this occaſion, they ſent to enquire of the prieſteſs of Apollo at Delphi; and ſhe returned this anſwer:

Seek you what funeral honours you ſhall pay
To your departed prince,—the ſmall reward
For liberty reſtor'd, and glory won?
Bid Sicyon, fearleſs, rear the ſacred tomb;
For the vile tongue that dares with impious breath
Offend Aratus, blaſts the face of nature,
Pours horror on the earth, the ſeas, and ſkies.

This oracle gave great joy to all the Achaeans, particularly the people of Sicyon. They changed the day of mourning into a feſtival, and adorning themſelves with garlands and white robes, brought the corpſe with ſongs and dances from Ægium to Sicyon:—there they ſelected the moſt conſpicuous ground, and interred him as the founder and deliverer of their city. The place is ſtill called *Aratium*; and

there they offer two yearly ſacrifices; the one on the fifth of the month Daeſius (the Athenians call it Antheſterion *) which was the day he delivered the city from the yoke of tyrants, and on which account they call the feſtival *Soteria*; the other on his birth-day. The firſt ſacrifice was offered by the prieſt of Jupiter *the Preſerver*, and the ſecond by the ſon of Aratus, who, on that occaſion, wore a girdle †, not entirely white, but half purple. The muſic was ſung to the harp by the choir that belonged to the theatre. The proceſſion was led up by the maſter of the *Gymnaſium*, at the head of the boys and young men; the ſenate followed, crowned with flowers, and ſuch of the other citizens who choſe to attend. Some ſmall marks of the ceremonies obſerved on thoſe days ſtill remain; but the greateſt part is worn out by time and other circumſtances.

Such was the life and character that hiſtory has given us of the elder Aratus: and as to the younger, Philip, who was naturally wicked, and delighted to add inſolence to cruelty, gave him potions, not of the deadly kind, but ſuch as deprived him of his reaſon; inſomuch that he took up inclinations that were ſhocking and monſtrous, and delighted in things that not only diſhonoured, but deſtroyed him. Death, therefore, which took him in the flower of his age, was conſidered, not as a misfortune, but a deliverance. The vengeance, however, of Jupiter, the patron of hoſpitality and friendſhip, viſited Philip for his breach of both, and purſued him through life; for he was beaten by the Romans, and forced to yield himſelf to their diſcretion. In conſequence of which he was ſtript of all the provinces he had conquered, gave up all his ſhips except five, obliged himſelf to pay a thouſand talents, and deliver his ſon as an hoſtage. He even held Macedonia and its dependencies only at the mercy of the conquerors.

* February.

† Ετροφιον ſignifies alſo a *fillet*.

Amidſt

Amidſt all theſe misfortunes he was poſſeſſed only of one bleſſing, a ſon of ſuperior virtue; and him he put to death, in his envy and jealouſy of the honours the Romans paid him. He left his crown to his other ſon Perſeus, who was believed not to be his, but a ſuppoſititious child, born of a ſempſtreſs named Gnathaenium. It was over him that Paulus Æmilius triumphed; and in him ended the royal race of Antigonus; whereas the poſterity of Aratus remained to our days, and ſtill continues in Sicyon and Pellene.

GALBA.

IPHICRATES, the Athenian general, thought that a ſoldier of fortune ſhould have an attachment both to money and pleaſure, that his paſſions might put him upon fighting with more boldneſs for a ſupply. But moſt others are of opinion, that the main body of an army, like the healthy natural body, ſhould have no motion of its own, but be entirely guided by the head. Hence, Paulus Æmilius, when he found his army in Macedonia talkative, buſy, and ready to direct their general, is ſaid to have given orders, "that each ſhould keep his hand fit for "action, and his ſword ſharp, and leave the reſt to "him." And Plato perceiving that the beſt general cannot undertake any thing with ſucceſs, unleſs his troops are ſober, and perfectly united to ſupport him, concluded, that to know how to obey, required as generous a diſpoſition, and as rational an education, as to know how to command: for theſe advantages would correct the violence and impetuoſity of the ſoldier with the mildneſs and humanity of the philoſopher. Amongſt other fatal examples, what happened amongſt the Romans after the death of Nero, is ſufficient to ſhow, that nothing is more dreadful than an undiſciplined army, actuated only by the impulſe of their own ferocity. Demades ſeeing the wild and violent motions of the Macedonian army after the

the death of Alexander, compared it to the Cyclops*, after his eye was put out. But the Roman empire more reſembled the extravagant paſſions and ravings of the Titans, which the poets tell us of, when it was torn in pieces by rebellion, and turned its arms againſt itſelf; not ſo much through the ambition of the emperors, as the avarice and licentiouſneſs of the ſoldiers, who drove out one emperor by another †.

Dionyſius the Sicilian, ſpeaking of Alexander of Pherae, who reigned in Theſſaly only ten months and then was ſlain, called him in deriſion of the ſudden change, the theatrical tyrant. But the palace of the Cæſars received four emperors in a leſs ſpace of time; one entering, and another making his exit, as if they had been only acting a part upon a ſtage. The Romans, indeed, had one conſolation amidſt their misfortunes, that they needed no other revenge upon the authors of them, than to ſee them deſtroy each other; and with the greateſt juſtice of all fell the firſt, who corrupted the army, and taught them to expect ſo much upon the change of emperor; thus diſhonouring a glorious action by mercenary conſiderations, and turning the revolt from Nero into treaſon. For Nymphidius Sabinus, who, as we obſerved before ‡, was joined in commiſſion with Tigellinus, as captain of the praetorian cohorts, after Nero's affairs were in a deſperate ſtate, and it was plain that he intended to retire into Egypt, perſuaded the army, as if Nero had already abdicated, to declare Galba emperor, promiſing every ſoldier of the praetorian cohorts ſeven thouſand five hundred *drachmas*, and the troops that were quartered in the provinces, twelve hundred and fifty *drachmas* a man: a ſum which it was impoſſible to collect without doing infinitely more miſchief to the empire than Nero had done in his whole reign.

* Polyphemus.

† In the original it is, *as one nail is driven out by another.*

‡ In the Life of Nero, which is loſt.

This proved the immediate ruin of Nero, and ſoon after deſtroyed Galba himſelf. They deſerted Nero, in hopes of receiving the money; and diſpatched Galba, becauſe they did not receive it. Afterwards they ſought for another who might pay them that ſum; but they ruined themſelves by their rebellions and treaſons, without gaining what they had been made to expect. To give a complete and exact account of the affairs of thoſe times, belongs to the profeſſed hiſtorian. It is, however, in my province to lay before the reader the moſt remarkable circumſtances in the lives of the Cæſars.

It is an acknowledged truth, that Sulpitius Galba was the richeſt private man that ever roſe to the imperial dignity. But though his extraction was of the nobleſt, from the family of the Servii, yet he thought it a greater honour to be related to Quintus Catulus Capitolinus, who was the firſt man in his time for virtue and reputation, though he voluntarily left to others the pre-eminence in power. He was alſo related to Livia, the wife of Auguſtus; and it was by her intereſt that he was raiſed from the office he had in the palace to the dignity of conſul. It is ſaid that he acquitted himſelf of his commiſſion in Germany with honour; and that he gained more reputation than moſt commanders, during his proconſulate in Africa. But his ſimple parſimonious way of living paſſed for avarice in an emperor; and the pride he took in œconomy and ſtrict temperance was out of character.

He was ſent governor into Spain by Nero, before that emperor had learnt to fear ſuch of the citizens as had great authority in Rome. Beſides, the mildneſs of his temper, and his advanced time of life, promiſed a cautious and prudent conduct. The emperor's receivers*, a moſt abandoned ſet of men,

* Επιτροποι, *procuratores*. They had full powers to collect the revenues; and ſcrupled no acts of oppreſſion in the courſe of their proceedings.

haraſſed the provinces in the moſt cruel manner. Galba could not aſſiſt them againſt their perſecutors; but his concern for their misfortunes, which appeared not leſs than if he had been a ſufferer himſelf, afforded them ſome conſolation, even while they were condemned and ſold for ſlaves. Many ſongs were made upon Nero, and ſung everywhere; and as Galba did not endeavour to ſuppreſs them, or join the receivers of the revenues in their reſentment, that was a circumſtance which endeared him ſtill more to the natives. For by this time he had contracted a friendſhip with them, having long been their governor. He had borne that commiſſion eight years, when Junius Vindex, who commanded in Gaul, revolted againſt Nero. It is ſaid that, before this rebellion broke out, Galba had intimations of it in letters from Vindex; but he neither countenanced nor diſcovered it, as the governors of other provinces did, who ſent the letters they had received to Nero, and by that means ruined the project as far as was in their power. Yet thoſe ſame governors afterwards joining in the conſpiracy againſt their prince, ſhewed that they could betray not only Vindex, but themſelves.

But after Vindex had openly commenced hoſtilities, he wrote to Galba, deſiring him "to accept the "imperial dignity, and give a head to the ſtrong "Gallic body which ſo much wanted one; which "had no leſs than a hundred thouſand men in arms, "and was able to raiſe a much greater number."

Galba then called a council of his friends. Some of them adviſed him to wait, and ſee what motions there might be in Rome, or inclinations for a change. But Titus Vinius, captain of one of the praetorian cohorts, ſaid, "What room is there, Galba, for "deliberation? To enquire whether we ſhall con-"tinue faithful to Nero, is to have revolted already. "There is no medium. We muſt either accept the "friendſhip of Vindex, as if Nero was our declared "enemy, or accuſe and fight Vindex, becauſe he

"deſires

"desires that the Romans should have Galba for their "emperor rather than Nero for their tyrant." Upon this, Galba, by an edict, fixed a day for enfranchising all who should present themselves. The report of this soon drew together a multitude of people who were desirous of a change; and he had no sooner mounted the tribunal, than with one voice, they declared him emperor. He did not immediately accept the title; but accused Nero of great crimes, and lamented the fate of many Romans of great distinction whom he had barbarously slain: after which he declared, "That he would serve his country with his "best abilities, not as Cæsar or emperor, but as lieu-"tenant to the senate and people of Rome *."

That it was a just and rational scheme which Vindex adopted in calling Galba to the empire, there needs no better proof than Nero himself. For though he pretended to look upon the commotions in Gaul as nothing, yet when he received the news of Galba's revolt, which he happened to do just after he had bathed, and was sat down to supper, in his madness he overturned the table. However, when the senate had declared Galba an enemy to his country, he affected to despise the danger, and, attempting to be merry upon it, said to his friends, "I have long "wanted a pretence to raise money, and this will "furnish me with an excellent one. The Gauls, "when I have conquered them, will be a fine booty; "and, in the mean time, I will seize the estate of "Galba, since he is a declared enemy, and dispose "of it as I think fit." Accordingly he gave directions that Galba's estate should be sold; which Galba no sooner heard of than he exposed to sale all that belonged to Nero in Spain, and more readily found purchasers.

* Dio Cassius informs us, that this declaration was made nine months and thirteen days before Galba's death; and consequently on the third of April; for he was assassinated on the fifteenth of January in the following year.

The

The revolt from Nero ſoon became general; and the governors of provinces declared for Galba: only Clodius Macer in Africa, and Verginius Rufus in Germany, ſtood out and acted for themſelves; but upon different motives. Clodius being conſcious to himſelf of much rapine and many murders, to which his avarice and cruelty had prompted him, was in a fluctuating ſtate, and could not take his reſolution either to aſſume or reject the imperial title. And Verginius, who commanded ſome of the beſt legions in the empire, and had been often preſſed by them to take the title of emperor, declared, "that he "would neither take it himſelf, nor ſuffer it to be "given to any other, but the perſon whom the ſe-"nate ſhould name."

Galba was not a little alarmed at this at firſt; but after the forces of Verginius and Vindex had overpowered them, like charioteers no longer able to guide the reins, and forced them to fight, Vindex loſt twenty thouſand Gauls in the battle, and then diſpatched himſelf. A report was then current, that the victorious army, in conſequence of ſo great an advantage, would inſiſt that Verginius ſhould accept the imperial dignity; and that, if he refuſed it, they would turn again to Nero. This put Galba in a great conſternation; and he wrote letters to Verginius, exhorting him to act in concert with him for preſerving the empire and liberty of the Romans. After which, he retired with his friends to Colonia, a city in Spain, and there ſpent ſome time, rather in repenting of what he had done, and wiſhing for the life of eaſe and leiſure, to which he had ſo long been accuſtomed, than taking any of the neceſſary ſteps for his promotion.

It was now the beginning of ſummer, when one evening, a little before night, one of Galba's freedmen, a native of Sicily, arrived in ſeven days from Rome. Being told that Galba was retired to reſt, he ran up to his chamber, and having opened it, in ſpite

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of the reſiſtance of the chamberlains, informed him, "That, as Nero did not appear, though he was "living at that time, the army firſt, and then the "people and ſenate of Rome, had declared Galba "emperor; and, not long after, news was brought "that Nero was dead." He added, "That he was "not ſatisfied with the report, but went and ſaw the "dead body of the tyrant before he would ſet out." Galba was greatly elevated by this intelligence; and he encouraged the multitudes that ſoon attended at the door by communicating it to them, though the expedition with which it was brought appeared incredible. But, two days after, Titus Vinius, with many others, arrived from the camp, and brought an account of all the proceedings of the ſenate. Vinius † was promoted to an honourable employment; while the freedman had his name changed from Icelus to Marcianus, was honoured with the privilege of wearing the gold ring, and had more attention paid him than any of the other freedmen.

Meantime, at Rome, Nymphidius Sabinus got the adminiſtration into his hands, not by ſlow and inſenſible ſteps, but with the greateſt celerity. He knew that Galba, on account of his great age, being now ſeventy-three, was ſcarcely able to make the journey to Rome, though carried in a litter: beſides, the forces there had long been inclined to ſerve him, and now they depended upon him only, conſidering him as their benefactor, on account of the large gratuity he had promiſed; and Galba as their debtor. He therefore immediately commanded his colleague Tigellinus to give up his ſword. He made great entertainments, at which he received perſons of conſular

† Vinius was of a prætorian family, and had behaved with honour as governor of Gallia Narbonenſis; but when he became the favourite and firſt miniſter of the emperor of Rome, he ſoon made his maſter obnoxious to the people, and ruined himſelf. The truth is, he was naturally of a bad diſpoſition, and a man of no principles.

dignity,

dignity, and ſuch as had commanded armies and provinces; yet he gave the invitation in the name of Galba. He likewiſe inſtructed many of the ſoldiers to ſuggeſt it to the praetorian cohorts, that they ſhould ſend a meſſage to Galba, demanding that Nymphidius ſhould be always their captain, and without a colleague. The readineſs the ſenate expreſſed to add to his honour and authority, in calling him their benefactor, in going daily to pay their reſpects at his gate, and deſiring that he would take upon him to propoſe and confirm every decree, brought him to a higher pitch of inſolence; inſomuch, that, in a little time, he became not only obnoxious, but formidable to the very perſons that paid their court to him. When the conſuls had charged the public meſſengers with the decrees to be carried to the emperor, and had ſealed the inſtruments with their ſeal, in order that the magiſtrates of the towns through which they were to paſs, ſeeing their authority, might furniſh them with carriages at every different ſtage for the greater expedition, he reſented it, that they had not made uſe of his ſeal, and employed his men to carry the diſpatches. It is ſaid that he even had it under conſideration whether he ſhould not puniſh the conſuls; but upon their apologizing and begging pardon for the affront, he was appeaſed. To ingratiate himſelf with the people, he did not hinder them from diſpatching by torture ſuch of Nero's creatures as fell into their hands. A gladiator, named Spicillus, was put under the ſtatues of Nero, and dragged about with them in the *forum* till he died: Aponius, one of the informers, was extended on the ground, and waggons, loaded with ſtones, driven over him: they tore many others in pieces, and ſome who were entirely innocent. So that Mauriſcus, who had not only the character of one of the beſt men in Rome, but really deſerved it, ſaid one day to the ſenate, "He was afraid they ſhould ſoon regret the loſs of "Nero."

Nymphidius,

Nymphidius, thus advancing in his hopes, was not at all diſpleaſed at being called the ſon of Caius Cæſar, who reigned after Tiberius. It ſeems that prince, in his youth, had ſome commerce with his mother, who was daughter of Calliſtus, one of Cæſar's freedmen, by a ſempſtreſs, and who was not wanting in perſonal charms. But it is evident that the connection Caius had with her, was after the birth of Nymphidius; and it was believed that he was the ſon of Martianus the gladiator, whom Nymphidia fell in love with on account of his reputation in his way; beſides, his reſemblance to the gladiator gave a ſanction to that opinion. Be that as it may, he acknowledged himſelf the ſon of Nymphidia, and yet inſiſted that he was the only perſon who depoſed Nero. Not content with the honours and emoluments he enjoyed on that account, * * *

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he aſpired to the imperial ſeat, and had his engines privately at work in Rome, in which he employed his friends, with ſome intriguing women, and ſome men of conſular rank. He ſent alſo Gelianus, one of his friends, into Spain, to act as a ſpy upon Galba.

After the death of Nero, all things went for Galba according to his wiſh; only the uncertainty what part Verginius Rufus would act, gave him ſome uneaſineſs. Verginius commanded a powerful army, which had already conquered Vindex; and he held in ſubjection a very conſiderable part of the Roman empire; for he was maſter not only of Germany, but Gaul, which was in great agitations, and ripe for a revolt. Galba, therefore, was apprehenſive that he would liſten to thoſe who offered him the imperial purple. Indeed, there was not an officer of greater name or reputation than Verginius, nor one who had more weight in the affairs of thoſe times; for he had delivered the empire both from tyranny

and

and from a Gallic war. He abode, however, by his firſt reſolution, and reſerved the appointment of emperor for the ſenate. After Nero's death was certainly known, the troops again preſſed hard upon Verginius, and one of the tribunes drew his ſword in the pavilion, and bade him either receive ſovereign power or the ſteel; but the menace had no effect. At laſt, after Fabius Valens, who commanded one legion, had taken the oath of fidelity to Galba, and letters arrived from Rome with an account of the ſenate's decree, he perſuaded his army, though with great difficulty, to acknowledge Galba. The new emperor having ſent Flaccus Hordeonius as his ſucceſſor, he received him in that quality, and delivered up his forces to him. He then went to meet Galba, who was on his journey to Rome, and attended him thither, without finding any marks either of his favour or reſentment. The reaſon of this was, that Galba, on the one hand, conſidered him in too reſpectable a light to offer him any injury; and, on the other hand, the emperor's friends, particularly Titus Vinius, were jealous of the progreſs he might make in his favour. But that officer was not aware, that, while he was preventing his promotion, he was cooperating with his good genius, in withdrawing him from the wars and calamities in which other generals were engaged, and bringing him to a life of tranquillity, full of days and peace.

The ambaſſadors which the ſenate ſent to Galba, met him at Narbon, a city of Gaul. There they made their compliments, and adviſed him to ſhew himſelf as ſoon as poſſible to the people of Rome, who were very deſirous to ſee him. He gave them a kind reception, and entertained them in an agreeable manner. But though Nymphidius had ſent him rich veſſels, and other furniture ſuitable to a great prince, which he had taken out of Nero's palace, he made uſe of none of it; every thing was ſerved up in diſhes of his own. This was a circumſtance

that

that did him honour; for it ſhewed him a man of ſuperior ſentiments, and entirely above vanity. Titus Vinius, however, ſoon endeavoured to convince him that theſe ſuperior ſentiments, this modeſty and ſimplicity of manners, betrayed an ambition for popular applauſe, which real greatneſs of mind diſdains*; by which argument he prevailed with him to uſe Nero's riches, and ſhew all the imperial magnificence at his entertainments. Thus the old man made it appear that in time he would be entirely governed by Vinius.

No man had a greater paſſion for money than Vinius; nor was any man more addicted to women. While he was yet very young, and making his firſt campaign under Calviſius Sabinus, he brought the wife of his general, an abandoned proſtitute, one night into the camp in a ſoldier's habit, and lay with her in that part of it which the Romans call the *Principia*: for this, Caius Cæſar put him in priſon; but he was releaſed upon the death of that prince. Afterwards, happening to ſup with Claudius Cæſar, he ſtole a ſilver cup. The emperor being informed of it, invited him the following evening, but ordered the attendants to ſerve him with nothing but earthen veſſels. This moderation of the emperor ſeemed to ſhew that the theft was deſerving only of ridicule, and not ſerious reſentment: but what he did afterwards, when he had Galba and his revenues at command, ſerved partly as the cauſe, and partly as the pretence, for many events of the moſt tragical kind.

Nymphidius, upon the return of Gellianus, whom he had ſent as a ſpy upon Galba, was informed that

* In the text is is και κομψοτητα μεγαλην, απαξιωσαν αυτην. ——As it is difficult to make ſenſe of this, Du Soul ingeniouſly propoſes to read και ΑΚΟΜΨΟΤΗΤΑ ΜΕΓΑΛΩΝ απαξιωσαν αυτην, which would be in Engliſh, *and a ruſticity which thinks itſelf unworthy of any thing great.* We may be willing to make ſeveral conjectures of this kind; for the text, in this line, is extremely corrupt.

Cornelius

Cornelius Laco was appointed to the command of the guards and of the palace, and that all the power would be in the hands of Vinius. This diſtreſſed him exceedingly, as he had no opportunity to attend the emperor, or ſpeak to him in private; for his intentions were ſuſpected, and all were on their guard. In this perplexity, he aſſembled the officers of the praetorian cohorts, and told them, that "Galba "was indeed an old man, of mild and moderate ſen- "timents; but that, inſtead of uſing his own judg- "ment, he was entirely directed by Vinius and La- "co, who made a bad uſe of their power. It is our "buſineſs, therefore," continued he, "before they "inſenſibly eſtabliſh themſelves, and become ſole "maſters, as Tigellinus was, to ſend ambaſſadors to "the emperor in the name of all the troops, and re- "preſent to him, that, if he remove thoſe two coun- "ſellors from his perſon, he will find a much more "agreeable reception amongſt the Romans." Nymphidius perceiving that his officers did not approve the propoſal, but thought it abſurd and prepoſterous to dictate the choice of friends to an emperor of his age, as they might have done to a boy who now firſt taſted power, he adopted another ſcheme. In hopes of intimidating Galba, he pretended ſometimes in his letters, that there were diſcontents, and danger of an inſurrection in Rome; ſometimes, that Clodius Macer had laid an embargo in Africa on the corn ſhips. One while he ſaid, the German legions were in motion, and another while, that there was the ſame rebellious diſpoſition amongſt thoſe in Syria and Judea. But, as Galba did not give much attention or credit to his advices, he reſolved to uſurp the imperial title himſelf before he arrived; though Clodius Celſus, the Antiochian, a ſenſible man, and one of his beſt friends, did all in his power to diſſuade him; and told him plainly, he did not believe there was one family in Rome that would give him the title of Cæſar. Many others, how-

ever, made a jeſt of Galba: and Mithridates of Pontus, in particular, making merry with his bald head and wrinkled face, ſaid, "The Romans think "him ſomething extraordinary while he is at a diſ- "tance, but as ſoon as he arrives, they will conſider "it as a diſgrace to the times to have ever called "him Cæſar."

It was reſolved, therefore, that Nymphidius ſhould be conducted to the camp at midnight, and proclaimed emperor. But Antonius Honoratus, the firſt tribune, aſſembled in the evening the troops under his command, and blamed both himſelf and them, for changing ſo often in ſo ſhort a time, not in purſuance of the dictates of reaſon, or for making a better choice, but becauſe ſome dæmon puſhed them on from one treaſon to another. "The crimes of Nero, "indeed," ſaid he, "may juſtify our firſt meaſures; "but has Galba murdered his own mother, or his "wife? Or has he made you aſhamed of your em- "peror by appearing as a fidler or an actor on a "ſtage? Yet not even theſe things brought us to "abandon Nero; but Nymphidius firſt perſuaded "us that he had abandoned us, and was fled into "Egypt. Shall we then ſacrifice Galba after Nero; "and when we have deſtroyed the relation of Livia, "as well as the ſon of Agrippina, ſet the ſon of Nym- "phidia on the imperial throne? Or rather, after "having taken vengeance on a deteſtable tyrant in "Nero, ſhall we not ſhew ourſelves good and faith- "ful guards to Galba."

Upon this ſpeech of the tribune, all his men acceded to the propoſal. They applied alſo to their fellow-ſoldiers, and prevailed upon moſt of them to return to their allegiance. At the ſame time, a loud ſhout was heard in the camp; and Nymphidius either believing (which is the account that ſome give us) that the troops were calling him in order to proclaim him emperor, or elſe haſtening to appeaſe the inſurrection, and fix ſuch as he found wavering, went

with

with lights to the camp; having in his hand a ſpeech compoſed for him by Cingonius Varro, which he had committed to memory, in order to pronounce it to the army: but ſeeing the gates ſhut, and a number of men in arms upon the wall, his confidence abated. However, advancing nearer, he aſked them, "What they intended to do, and by whoſe command they were under arms?" They anſwered, one and all, "That they acknowleged no "other emperor but Galba." Then pretending to enter into their opinion, he applauded their fidelity, and ordered thoſe that accompanied him to follow his example. The guard opening the gate, and ſuffering him to enter with a few of his people, a javelin was thrown at him, which Septimius, who went before, received upon his ſhield: but, others drawing their ſwords, he fled, and was purſued into a ſoldier's hut, where they diſpatched him. His body was dragged to the middle of the camp, where they incloſed it with pales, and expoſed it to public view the next day.

Nymphidius being thus taken off, Galba was no ſooner informed of it, than he ordered ſuch of his accomplices as had not already diſpatched themſelves, to be put to death. Amongſt theſe was Cingonius, who compoſed the oration, and Mithridates of Pontus. In this the emperor did not proceed according to the laws and cuſtoms of the Romans; nor was it indeed a popular meaſure to inflict capital puniſhment upon perſons of eminence, without any form of trial, though they might deſerve death: for the Romans, deceived, as it uſually happens, by the firſt reports, now expected another kind of government. But what afflicted them moſt was, the order he ſent for the execution of Petronius Turpilianus, a man of conſular dignity, merely becauſe he had been faithful in Nero. There was ſome pretence for taking off Macer to Africa, by means of Trebonianus; and Fonteius in Germany by Valens, becauſe

they were in arms, and had forces that he might be afraid of; but there was no reaſon why Turpilianus, a defenceleſs old man, ſhould not have a hearing, at leaſt under a prince who ſhould have preſerved in his actions the moderation he ſo much affected. Such complaints there were againſt Galba on this ſubject.

When he was about five-and-twenty furlongs from the city, he found the way ſtopt by a diſorderly parcel of ſeamen, who gathered about him on all ſides *. Theſe were perſons whom Nero had formed into a legion, that they might act as ſoldiers. They now met him on the road to have their eſtabliſhment confirmed; and crowded the emperor ſo much, that he could neither be ſeen nor heard by thoſe who came to wait on him; for they inſiſted, in a clamorous manner, on having legionary colours and quarters aſſigned them. Galba put them off to another time; but they conſidered that as a denial; and ſome of them even drew their ſwords: upon which, he ordered the cavalry to fall upon them. They made no reſiſtance, but fled with the utmoſt precipitation, and many of them were killed in their flight. It was conſidered as an auſpicious circumſtance for Galba to enter the city amidſt ſo much blood and ſlaughter. And thoſe who deſpiſed him before as weak and inactive through age, now looked upon him as an object of fear and horror.

Beſides, while he endeavoured to reform the extravagance and profuſion with which money uſed to be given away by Nero, he miſſed the mark of propriety. When Canus, a celebrated performer on the flute, played to him one evening at court, after expreſſing the higheſt ſatisfaction at the excellence of his muſic, he ordered his purſe to be brought; and

* Dio Caſſius tells us (Lib. lxiv.) that ſeven thouſand of the diſarmed multitude were cut to pieces on the ſpot; and others were committed to priſon, where they lay till the death of Galba.

taking

taking out a few pieces of gold *, gave them to Canus, telling him, at the ſame time, that this was a gratuity out of his own, not the public money. As for the money which Nero had given to perſons that pleaſed him on the ſtage, or in the *palaeſtra*, he inſiſted with great rigour that it ſhould all be returned, except a tenth part. And as perſons of ſuch diſſolute lives, who mind nothing but a proviſion for the day, could produce very little, he cauſed enquiry to be made for all who had bought any thing of them, or received preſents, and obliged them to refund. This affair extending to great numbers of people, and ſeeming to have no end, it reflected diſgrace upon the emperor, and brought the public envy and hatred on Vinius, becauſe he made the emperor ſordid and mean to others, while he pillaged the treaſury himſelf in the moſt inſatiable manner, and took and ſold whatever he thought proper.

In ſhort, as Heſiod ſays,

Spare not the full caſk, nor when ſhallow ſtreams
Declare the bottom near, withdraw your hand.

So Vinius, ſeeing Galba old and infirm, drank freely of the favours of fortune, as only beginning, and yet, at the ſame time, drawing to an end †.

But the aged emperor was greatly injured by Vinius, not only through his neglect or miſapplication of things committed to his truſt, but by his condemning or defeating the moſt ſalutary intentions of

* Suetonius ſays, Galba gave him five denarii; but at that time there were denarii of gold. That writer adds, that when his table, on any extraordinary occaſion, was more ſplendidly ſerved than uſual, he could not forbear ſighing and expreſſing his diſſatisfaction in a manner inconſiſtent with common decency.

† Thus, in the court of Galba, appeared all the extortions of Nero's reign. They were equally grievous (ſays Tacitus) but not equally excuſed, in a prince of Galba's years and experience. He had himſelf the greateſt integrity of heart; but as the rapacity and other exceſſes of his miniſters were imputed to him, he was no leſs hated than if he had committed them himſelf.

his maſter. This was the caſe with reſpect to puniſhing Nero's miniſters. Some bad ones, it is true, were put to death; amongſt whom were Elius, Polycletus, Petinus, and Patrobius. The people expreſſed their joy by loud plaudits, when theſe were led thro' the *forum* to the place of execution, and called it a glorious and holy proceſſion; but both gods and men, they ſaid, demanded the puniſhment of Tigellinus, who ſuggeſted the very worſt meaſures, and taught Nero all his tyranny. That *worthy* miniſter, however, had ſecured himſelf by great preſents to Vinius, which were only earneſts of ſtill greater. Turpilianus, though obnoxious only becauſe he had not betrayed or hated his maſter, on account of his bad qualities, and though guilty of no remarkable crime, was, notwithſtanding put to death; while the man who had made Nero unfit to live, and, after he had made him ſuch, deſerted and betrayed him, lived and flouriſhed: a proof that there was nothing which Vinius would not ſell, and that no man had reaſon to deſpair who had money: for there was no ſight which the people of Rome ſo paſſionately longed for, as that of Tigellinus carried to execution; and in the theatre and the *circus* they continually demanded it, till at laſt the emperor checked them by an edict, importing, that Tigellinus was in a deep conſumption, which would deſtroy him ere long, and that their Sovereign intreated them not to turn his government into a tyranny by needleſs acts of ſeverity.

The people were highly diſpleaſed; but the miſcreants only laughed at them. Tigellinus offered ſacrifice, in acknowledgment to the gods for his recovery, and provided a great entertainment; and Vinius roſe from the emperor's table, to go and carouſe with Tigellinus, accompanied by his daughter, who was a widow. Tigellinus drank to her, and ſaid, "I will make this cup worth two hundred and fifty "thouſand *drachmas* to you." At the ſame time, he ordered

ordered his chief miſtreſs to take off her own necklace and give it her. This was ſaid to be worth a hundred and fifty thouſand more.

* From this time the moſt moderate of Galba's proceedings were miſrepreſented: For inſtance, his lenity to the Gauls, who had conſpired with Vindex, did not eſcape cenſure: for it was believed that they had not gained a remiſſion of tribute and the freedom of Rome from the emperor's indulgence, but that they had purchaſed them of Vinius. Hence the people had a general averſion to Galba's adminiſtration. As for the ſoldiers, though they did not receive what had been promiſed them, they let it paſs, hoping that, if they had not that gratuity, they ſhould certainly have as much as Nero had given them: but when they began to murmur, and their complaints were brought to Galba, he ſaid, what well became a great prince, — "That it was his "cuſtom to chuſe, not to buy his ſoldiers." This ſaying, however, being reported to the troops, filled them with the moſt deadly and irreconcileable hatred to Galba: for it ſeemed to them that he not only wanted to deprive them of the gratuity himſelf, but to ſet a precedent for future emperors.

The diſaffection to the government that prevailed in Rome was as yet kept ſecret, in ſome meaſure; partly becauſe ſome remaining reverence for the preſence of the emperor prevented the flame of ſedition from breaking out, and partly for want of an open occaſion to attempt a change. But the troops which had ſerved under Verginius, and were now command-

* Though the reſt of Galba's conduct was not blameleſs, yet (according to Suetonius and Zonaras) he kept the ſoldiers to their duty; he puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity thoſe who, by their falſe accuſations, had occaſioned the death of innocent perſons; he delivered up to puniſhment ſuch ſlaves as had borne witneſs againſt their maſters; and he recalled thoſe who had been baniſhed by Nero, under pretence of treaſon.

ed by Flaccus in Germany, thinking they deſerved great things for the battle which they fought with Vindex, and finding that they obtained nothing, began to behave in a very refractory manner, and could not be appeaſed by their officers. Their general himſelf they utterly deſpiſed, as well on account of his inactivity (for he had the gout in a violent manner) as his want of experience in military affairs. One day, at ſome public games, when the tribunes and centurions, according to cuſtom, made vows for the happineſs of the emperor, the common ſoldiers murmured; and when the officers repeated their good wiſhes, they anſwered, "If he is worthy."

The legions that were under the command of Tigellinus, behaved with equal inſolence; of which Galba's agents wrote him an account. He was now apprehenſive that it was not only his age, but his want of children, that brought him into contempt; and therefore he formed a deſign to adopt ſome young man of noble birth, and declare him his ſucceſſor. Marcus Otho was of a family by no means obſcure; but, at the ſame time, he was more remarkable from his infancy for luxury and love of pleaſure than moſt of the Roman youth. And, as Homer often calls Paris, *the huſband of the beauteous* Helen, becauſe he had nothing elſe to diſtinguiſh him, ſo Otho was noted in Rome as the huſband of Poppaea. This was the lady whom Nero fell in love with while ſhe was wife to Criſpinus; but retaining as yet ſome reſpect for his own wife, and ſome reverence for his mother, he privately employed Otho to ſolicit her: for Otho's debauchery had recommended him to Nero as a friend and companion; and he had an agreeable way of rallying him upon what he called his avarice and ſordid manner of living.

We are told that, one day when Nero was perfuming himſelf with a very rich eſſence, he ſprinkled a little of it upon Otho. Otho invited the emperor the day following; when ſuddenly gold and ſilver

pipes

pipes opened on all ſides of the apartment, and poured out eſſences for them in as much plenty as if it had been water. He applied to Poppaea, according to Nero's deſire, and firſt ſeduced her for him, with the flattering idea of having an emperor for her lover: after which he perſuaded her to leave her huſband; but when he took her home as his own wife, he was not ſo happy in having her, as miſerable in the thought of ſharing her with another. And Poppaea is ſaid not to have been diſpleaſed with this jealouſy: for, it ſeems, ſhe refuſed to admit Nero when Otho was abſent; whether it was that ſhe ſtudied to keep Nero's appetite from cloying, or whether (as ſome ſay) ſhe did not chuſe to receive the emperor as a huſband, but in her wanton way, took more pleaſure in having him approach her as a gallant. Otho's life therefore was in great danger, on account of that marriage; and it is aſtoniſhing, that the man who could ſacrifice his wife and ſiſter for the ſake of Poppaea, ſhould afterwards ſpare Otho.

But Otho had a friend in Seneca; and it was he who perſuaded Nero to ſend him out governor of Luſitania, upon the borders of the ocean. Otho made himſelf agreeable to the inhabitants by his levity; for he knew that his command was given him only as a more honourable exile *. Upon Galba's revolt, he was the firſt governor of a province that came over to him; and he carried with him all the gold and ſilver veſſels he had, to be melted down and coined for his uſe. He likewiſe preſented him with ſuch of his ſervants as knew beſt how to wait upon an emperor. He behaved to him, indeed, in all reſpects, with great fidelity; and it appeared from the ſpecimen he gave, that there was no department in the government for which he had not talents. He accompanied him in his whole journey, and was many

* On this occaſion the following diſtich was made:

Cur Otho mentito ſit quaeritis exul honore?
Uxoris maechus caeperat eſſe ſuae.

days

days in the ſame carriage with him; during all which time he loſt no opportunity to pay his court to Vinius, either by aſſiduities or preſents: and as he always took care to leave him the firſt place, he was ſecure by his means of having the ſecond. Beſides that there was nothing invidious in this ſtation, he recommended himſelf by granting his favours and ſervices without reward, and by his general affability and politeneſs. He took moſt pleaſure in ſerving the officers of the army, and obtained governments for many of them, partly by applications to the emperor, and partly to Vinius and his freedmen Icelus and Aſiaticus; for theſe had the chief influence at court.

Whenever Galba viſited him, he complimented the company of guards that was upon duty, with a piece of gold for each man; thus practiſing upon and gaining the ſoldiers, while he ſeemed only to be doing honour to their maſter. When Galba was deliberating on the choice of a ſucceſſor, Vinius propoſed Otho. Nor was this a diſintereſted overture, for Otho had promiſed to marry Vinius's daughter, after Galba had adopted him, and appointed him his ſucceſſor. But Galba always ſhewed that he preferred the good of the public to any private conſiderations; and in this caſe he ſought not for the man who might be moſt agreeable to himſelf, but one who promiſed to be the greateſt bleſſing for the Romans. Indeed, it can hardly be ſuppoſed that he would have appointed Otho heir even to his private patrimony, when he knew how expenſive and profuſe he was, and that he was loaded with a debt of five millions of *drachmas*. He therefore gave Vinius a patient hearing, without returning him any anſwer; and put off the affair to another time. However, as he declared himſelf conſul, and choſe Vinius for his colleague, it was ſuppoſed that he would appoint a ſucceſſor at the beginning of the next year: and the ſoldiers wiſhed that Otho might be the man.

But

But while Galba delayed the appointment, and continued deliberating, the army mutinied in Germany. All the troops throughout the empire hated Galba, becauſe they had not received the promiſed donations; but thoſe in Germany had a particular apology for their averſion. They alledged, "that "Verginius Rufus, their general, had been remov- "ed with ignominy, and that the Gauls, who had "fought againſt them, were the only people that "were rewarded, whilſt all who had not joined Vin- "dex were puniſhed; and Galba, as if he owed ob- "ligations to none but him for the imperial dia- "dem, honoured his memory with ſacrifices and "public libations."

Such ſpeeches as this were common in the camp, when the calends of January were at hand, and Flaccus aſſembled the ſoldiers, that they might take the cuſtomary oath of fealty to the emperor. But, inſtead of that, they overturned and broke to pieces the ſtatues of Galba; and having taken an oath of allegiance to the ſenate and people of Rome, they retired to their tents. Their officers were now as apprehenſive of anarchy as rebellion; and the following ſpeech is ſaid to have been made on the occaſion: "What "are we doing, my fellow-ſoldiers? We neither ap- "point another emperor, nor keep our allegiance to "the preſent, as if we had renounced not only Gal- "ba, but every other ſovereign, and all manner of "obedience. It is true, Hordeonius Flaccus is no "more than the ſhadow of Galba. Let us quit "him. But at the diſtance of one day's march only, "there is Vitellius, who commands in the Lower "Germany, whoſe father was cenſor, and thrice "conſul, and in a manner colleague to the emperor "Claudius. And though his poverty be a circum- "ſtance for which ſome people may deſpiſe him, "it is a ſtrong proof of his probity and greatneſs "of mind. Let us go and declare him emperor, "and ſhew the world that we know how to chuſe a

"perſon

" perſon for that high dignity better than the Spa-
" niards and Luſitanians."

Some approved, and others rejected this motion. One of the ſtandard-bearers, however, marched off privately, and carried the news to Vitellius that night. He found him at table; for he was giving a great entertainment to his officers. The news ſoon ſpread through the army; and Fabius Valens, who commanded one of the legions, went next day at the head of a conſiderable party of horſe, and ſaluted Vitellius emperor. For ſome days before, he ſeemed to dread the weight of ſovereign power, and totally to decline it; but now being fortified with the indulgences of the table, to which he had ſat down at mid-day, he went out, and accepted the title of Germanicus, which the army conferred upon him, tho' he refuſed that of Cæſar. Soon after, Flaccus's troops forgot the republican oaths they had taken to the ſenate and people, and ſwore allegiance to Vitellius. Thus Vitellius was proclaimed emperor in Germany.

As ſoon as Galba was informed of the inſurrection there, he reſolved, without further delay, to proceed to the adoption. He knew ſome of his friends were for Dolabella, and a ſtill greater number for Otho; but without being guided by the judgment of either party, or making the leaſt mention of his deſign, he ſent ſuddenly for Piſo the ſon of Craſſus and Scribonia, who were put to death by Nero; a young man formed by nature for every virtue, and diſtinguiſhed for his modeſty and ſobriety of manners. In purſuance of his intentions, he went down with him to the camp, to give him the title of Cæſar, and declare him his ſucceſſor. But he was no ſooner out of his palace, than very inauſpicious preſages appeared. In the camp, when he delivered a ſpeech to the army, reading ſome parts, and pronouncing others from memory, the many claps of thunder and flaſhes of lightning, the violent rain that fell, and the dark-

neſs

neſs that covered both the camp and the city, plainly announced that the gods did not admit of the adoption, and that the iſſue would be unfortunate. The countenances of the ſoldiers, too, were black and lowring, becauſe there was no donation even on that occaſion *.

As to Piſo, all that were preſent could not but wonder that, ſo far as they could conjecture from his voice and look, he was not diſconcerted with ſo great an honour, though he did not receive it without ſenſibility †. On the contrary, in Otho's countenance there appeared ſtrong marks of reſentment, and of the impatience with which he bore the diſappointment of his hopes. For his failing of that honour, which he had been thought worthy to aſpire to, and which he lately believed himſelf very near attaining, ſeemed a proof of Galba's hatred and ill intentions to him. He was not, therefore, without apprehenſions of what might befal him afterwards; and dreading Galba, execrating Piſo, and full of indignation againſt Vinius, he retired with this confuſion of paſſions in his heart. But the Chaldaeans, and other diviners, whom he had always about him, would not ſuffer him entirely to give up his hopes, or abandon his deſign. In particular he relied on Ptolemy, becauſe he had formerly predicted, that he ſhould not fall by the hand of Nero, but ſurvive him, and live to aſcend the imperial throne: for as the former part of the prophecy proved true, he thought he had no reaſon to deſpair of the latter. None, however, exaſperated him more againſt Galba than thoſe who condoled with him in private, and pretended that he had been treated with great ingratitude. Beſides, there was a number of people that had flouriſhed un-

* Tacitus tells us, that a little exertion of liberality would have gained the army; and that Galba ſuffered by an unſeaſonable attention to the purity of ancient times.

† See an excellent ſpeech which Tacitus aſcribes to Galba on this occaſion.

der Tigellinus and Nymphidius, and now lived in poverty and disgrace, who, to recommend themselves to Otho, expressed great indignation at the slight he had offered, and urged him to revenge it. Amongst these were Veturius, who was *optio*, or centurion's deputy, and Barbius, who was *tesserarius*, or one of those that carry the word from the tribunes to the centurions*. Onamastus, one of Otho's freedmen, joined them, and went from troop to troop, corrupting some with money, and others with promises. Indeed, they were corrupt enough already, and wanted only an opportunity to put their designs in execution. If they had not been extremely disaffected, they could not have been prepared for a revolt in so short a space of time as that of four days, which was all that passed between the adoption and the assassination; for Piso and Galba were both slain the sixth day after, which was the fifteenth of January. Early in the morning Galba sacrificed in the palace in presence of his friends. Umbricius, the diviner, no sooner took the entrails in his hands, than he declared, not in enigmatical expressions, but plainly, that there were signs of great troubles and of treason, that threatened immediate danger to the emperor. Thus Otho was almost delivered up to Galba by the hand of the Gods; for he stood behind the emperor, listening with great attention to the observations made by Umbricius. These put him in

* The way of setting the nightly guard was by a *tessera* or tally, with a particular inscription, given from one centurion to another quite through the army, till it came again to the tribune who first delivered it.

The text in this place is corrupt. Lipsius rightly observes, that, instead of δι' αγγελων and δι' οπληρων, we should read διαγγελων and διοπληρων. Then it will run thus: ουτω γαρ καλεισθαι οι διαγγελων και διοπληρων υπηρεσιας τελουντες; But even then Plutarch will not have given a description of the principal offices of the *optio* and the *tesserarius*. Messengers, it is true, they were; but spies only occasionally. It is necessary, however, to translate the text thus amended, at least in a note,—*So they are called who perform the offices of messengers and spies.*

great

great confuſion; and his fears were diſcovered by his change of colour, when his freedman Onomaſtus came and told him that the architects were come, and waited for him at his houſe. This was the ſignal for Otho's meeting the ſoldiers; he pretended, therefore, that he had bought an old houſe which theſe architects were to examine, and going down by what is called Tiberius's palace, went to that part of the *forum* where ſtands the gilded pillar which terminates all the great roads in Italy *.

The ſoldiers who received him, and ſaluted him emperor, are ſaid not to have been more than twenty-three. So that, though he had nothing of that daſtardly ſpirit which the delicacy of his conſtitution, and the effeminacy of his life, ſeemed to declare; but, on the contrary, was firm and reſolute in time of danger; yet, on this occaſion he was intimidated, and wanted to retire;—but the ſoldiers would not ſuffer it. They ſurrounded the chair † with drawn ſwords, and inſiſted on its proceeding to the camp. Meantime Otho deſired the bearers to make haſte, often declaring that he was a loſt man. There were ſome who overheard him; and they rather wondered at the hardineſs of the attempt with ſo ſmall a party, than diſturbed themſelves about the conſequences. As he was carried through the *forum*, about the ſame number as the firſt joined him, and others afterward, by three or four at a time. The whole party then ſaluted him Cæſar, and conducted him to the camp, flouriſhing their ſwords before him. Martialis, the tribune, who kept guard that day, knowing nothing (as they tell us) of the conſpiracy, was ſurprized and terrified at ſo unexpected a ſight, and ſuffered them to enter. When Otho was within the camp, he

* This pillar was ſet up by Auguſtus when he took the highways under his inſpection, and had the diſtances of places from Rome marked upon it.

† Suetonius ſays, he got into a woman's ſedan, in order to be the better concealed.

met

met with no reſiſtance; for the conſpirators gathered about ſuch as were ſtrangers to the deſign, and made it their buſineſs to explain it to them: upon which, they joined them by one or two at a time, at firſt out of fear, and afterwards out of choice.

The news was immediately carried to Galba, while the diviner yet attended, and had the entrails in his hands; ſo that they who had been moſt incredulous in matters of divination, and even held it in contempt before, were aſtoniſhed at the divine interpoſition in the accompliſhment of this preſage. People of all ſorts now crowding from the *forum* to the palace, Vinius and Laco, with ſome of the emperor's freedmen, ſtood before him with drawn ſwords to defend him. Piſo went out to ſpeak to the life-guards; and Marius Celſus, a man of great courage and honour, was ſent to ſecure the Illyrian legion, which lay in Vipſanius's portico.

Galba was inclined to go out to the people. Vinius endeavoured to diſſuade him from it; but Celſus and Laco encouraged him to go, and expreſſed themſelves with ſome ſharpneſs againſt Vinius. Meantime a ſtrong report prevailed that Otho was ſlain in the camp; ſoon after which, Julius Atticus, a ſoldier of ſome note amongſt the guards, came up, and crying he was the man that had killed Cæſar's enemy, made his way through the crowd, and ſhewed his bloody ſword to Galba. The emperor fixing his eye upon him, ſaid, "Who gave you orders?" He anſwered, "My allegiance, and the oath I had "taken:" and the people expreſſed their approbation in loud plaudits. Galba then went out in a ſedan chair, with a deſign to ſacrifice to Jupiter, and ſhew himſelf to the people. But he had no ſooner reached the *forum*, than the rumour changed like the wind, and news met him, that Otho was maſter of the camp. On this occaſion, as it was natural amongſt a multitude of people, ſome called out to him to advance, and ſome to retire; ſome to take courage,

and

and ſome to be cautious. His chair was toſſed backward and forward, as in a tempeſt, and ready to be overſet, when there appeared firſt a party of horſe, and then another of foot, iſſuing from the *Baſilica* of Paulus, and crying out, "Away with this private "man!" Numbers were then running about, not to ſeparate by flight, but to poſſeſs themſelves of the porticos and eminences about the *forum*, as it were to enjoy ſome public ſpectacle. Atilius Vergilio beat down one of Galba's ſtatues, which ſerved as a ſignal for hoſtilities; and they attacked the chair on all ſides with javelins; as thoſe did not diſpatch him they advanced ſword in hand. In this time of trial none ſtood up in his defence but one man, who, indeed, amongſt ſo many millions, was the only one that did honour to the Roman empire. This was Sempronius Denſus *, a centurion, who, without any particular obligations to Galba, and only from a regard to honour and the law, ſtood forth to defend the chair. Firſt of all he lifted up the vine-branch with which the centurions chaſtiſe ſuch as deſerve ſtripes, and then called out to the ſoldiers who were preſſing on, and commanded them to ſpare the emperor. They fell upon him notwithſtanding, and he drew his ſword and fought a long time, till he received a ſtroke in the ham, which brought him to the ground.

The chair was overturned at what is called the Curtian Lake; and Galba tumbling out of it, they ran to diſpatch him. At the ſame time he preſented his throat, and ſaid, "Strike, if it be for the good "of Rome." He received many ſtrokes upon his arms and legs, for he had a coat of mail upon his body. According to moſt accounts, it was Camurius, a ſoldier of the fifteenth legion, that diſpatch-

* In the Greek text it is *Indiſtrus*; but that text (as we obſerved before) in the Life of Galba, is extremely corrupt. We have therefore given *Denſus* from Tacitus; as *Vergilio*, inſtead of *Sercello*, above.

ed him; though ſome ſay it was Terentius, ſome Arcadius *, and others Fabius Fabulus. They add, that when Fabius had cut off his head, he wrapt it up in the ſkirt of his garment, becauſe it was ſo bald that he could take no hold of it. His aſſociates, however, would not ſuffer him to conceal it, but inſiſted that he ſhould let the world ſee what an exploit he had performed; he therefore fixed it upon the point of his ſpear, and ſwinging about the head of a venerable old man and a mild prince, who was both *Pontifex Maximus* and conſul, he ran on (like the Bacchanals with the head of Pentheus) brandiſhing his ſpear that was dyed with the blood that trickled from it.

When the head was preſented to Otho, he cried out, "This is nothing, my fellow-ſoldiers; ſhew "me the head of Piſo." It was brought not long after; for that young prince being wounded, and purſued by one Murcus, was killed by him at the gates of the temple of Veſta. Vinius alſo was put to the ſword, though he declared himſelf an accomplice in the conſpiracy, and proteſted that it was againſt Otho's orders that he ſuffered. However, they cut off his head, and that of Lacon; and carrying them to Otho, demanded their reward: for, as Archilochus ſays,

We bring ſeven warriors only to your tent,
Yet thouſands of us kill'd them:

So in this caſe many who had no ſhare in the action, bathed their hands and ſwords in the blood, and, ſhewing them to Otho, petitioned for their reward. It appeared afterwards, from the petitions given in, that the number of them was an hundred and twenty; and Vitellius having ſearched them out, put them all to death. Marius Celſus alſo coming to the camp, many accuſed him of having exhorted the

* In Tacitus, *Lecanius*. That hiſtorian makes no mention of Fabius.

ſoldiers

ſoldiers to ſtand by Galba; and the bulk of the army inſiſted that he ſhould ſuffer; but Otho, being deſirous to ſave him, and yet afraid of contradicting them, told them, "he did not chuſe to have him "executed ſo ſoon, becauſe he had ſeveral impor-"tant queſtions to put to him." He ordered him, therefore, to be kept in chains, and delivered him to perſons in whom he could beſt confide.

The ſenate was immediately aſſembled; and as if they were become different men, or had other Gods to ſwear by, they took the oath to Otho, which he had before taken to Galba, but had not kept; and they gave him the titles of Cæſar and Auguſtus, while the bodies of thoſe that had been beheaded lay in their conſular robes in the *forum*. As for the heads, the ſoldiers, after they had no farther uſe for them, ſold that of Vinius to his daughter for two thouſand five hundred *drachmas*. Piſo's was given to his wife Verania, at her requeſt *; and Galba's to the ſervants of Patrobius and Vitellius †, who, after they had treated it with the utmoſt inſolence and outrage, threw it into a place called *Seſtertium* ‡, where the bodies of thoſe are caſt that are put to death by the emperors. Galba's corpſe was carried away by Helvidius Priſcus, with Otho's permiſſion, and buried in the night by his freedman Argius.

Such is the hiſtory of Galba; a man, who, in the points of family and fortune diſtinctly conſidered, was exceeded by few of the Romans, and who, in the union of both was ſuperior to all. He had lived, too, in great honour, and with the beſt reputation, under five emperors; and it was rather by his character than by force of arms that he depoſed Nero.

* Tacitus (Lib. I.) ſays, ſhe purchaſed it.

† Galba had put Patrobius to death; but we know not why the ſervants of Vitellius ſhould deſire to treat Galba's remains with any indignity.

‡ Lipſius ſays, it was called *quaſi ſemitertium*, as being two miles and a half from the city.

As to the reſt who conſpired againſt the tyrant, ſome of them were thought unworthy of the imperial diadem, by the people, and others thought themſelves unworthy; but Galba was invited to accept it, and only followed the ſenſe of thoſe who called him to that high dignity. Nay, when he gave the ſanction of his name to Vindex, that which before was called rebellion was conſidered only as a civil war, becauſe a man of princely talents was then at the head of it: ſo that he did not ſo much want the empire, as the empire wanted him: and with theſe principles he attempted to govern a people corrupted by Tigellinus and Nymphidius, as Scipio, Fabricius, and Camillus, governed the Romans of their times. Notwithſtanding his great age, he ſhewed himſelf a chief worthy of ancient Rome, through all the military department; but, in the civil adminiſtration, he delivered himſelf up to Vinius, to Laco, and to his enfranchiſed ſlaves, who ſold every thing, in the ſame manner as Nero had left all to his inſatiable vermin. The conſequence of this was, that no man regretted him as an emperor, though almoſt all were moved with pity at his miſerable fate.

OTHO.

THE new emperor went early in the morning to the capitol, and ſacrificed; after which he ordered Marius Celſus to be brought before him. He received that officer with great marks of his regard, and deſired him rather to forget the cauſe of his confinement, than to remember his releaſe. Celſus neither ſhewed any meanneſs in his acknowledgments, nor any want of gratitude: he ſaid, "The very charge brought againſt him, bore witneſs to his character; ſince he was accuſed only "of having been faithful to Galba, from whom he "had never received any perſonal obligations." All who were preſent at the audience admired both the emperor and Celſus; and the ſoldiers in particular teſtified their approbation *.

Otho made a mild and gracious ſpeech to the ſenate. The remaining time of his conſulſhip he divided with Verginius Rufus; and he left thoſe who had been appointed to that dignity by Nero and Galba to enjoy it in their courſe. Such as were reſpectable for their age or character, he promoted to the prieſthood; and to thoſe ſenators who had

* Otho exempted the ſoldiers from the fees which they had paid the centurions for furloughs and other immunities; but at the ſame time promiſed to ſatisfy the centurions, on all reaſonable occaſions, out of his own revenue. In conſequence of theſe furloughs the fourth part of a legion was often abſent, and the troops became daily more and more corrupted.

been baniſhed by Nero and recalled by Galba, he reſtored all their goods and eſtates that he found unſold: ſo that the firſt and beſt of the citizens, who had before not conſidered him as a man, but dreaded him as a fury or deſtroying dæmon that had ſuddenly ſeized the ſeat of government, now entertained more pleaſing hopes from ſo promiſing a beginning.

* But nothing gave the people in general ſo high a pleaſure, or contributed ſo much to gain him their affections, as his puniſhing Tigellinus. It is true, he had long ſuffered under the fear of puniſhment, which the Romans demanded as a public debt, and under a complication of incurable diſtempers. Theſe, together with his infamous connexions with the worſt of proſtitutes, into which his paſſions drew him, though almoſt in the arms of death, were conſidered by the thinking part of mankind as the greateſt of puniſhments, and worſe than many deaths. Yet it was a pain to the common people that he ſhould ſee the light of the ſun, after ſo many excellent men had been deprived of it through his means. He was then at his country-houſe near Sinueſſa, and had veſſels at anchor, ready to carry him on occaſion to ſome diſtant country. Otho ſent to him there; Tigellinus firſt attempted to bribe the meſſenger with large ſums to ſuffer him to eſcape. When he found that did not take effect, he gave him the money notwithſtanding; and deſiring only to be indulged a few moments till he had ſhaved himſelf, he took the razor and cut his own throat.

Beſide this juſt ſatisfaction that Otho gave the people, it was a moſt agreeable circumſtance that he remembered none of his private quarrels. To gratify the populace, he ſuffered them alſo at firſt to give him in the theatres the name of Nero; and he

* In the cloſe of the day on which he was inaugurated, he put Laco and Icelus to death.

made

made no oppoſition to thoſe who erected publicly the ſtatues of that emperor. Nay, Claudius * Rufus tells us, that in the letters with which the couriers were ſent to Spain, he joined the name of Nero to that of Otho;—but perceiving that the nobility were offended, he made uſe of it no more.

After his government was thus eſtabliſhed, the praetorian cohorts gave him no ſmall trouble, by exhorting him to beware of many perſons of rank, and to forbid them the court; either it was their affection made them really apprehenſive for him, or it was only a colour for raiſing commotions and wars. One day, the emperor himſelf had ſent Criſpinus orders to bring the ſeventeenth cohort from Oſtia; and in order to do it without interruption, that officer began to prepare for it as ſoon as it grew dark, and to pack up the arms in waggons. Upon which, ſome of the moſt turbulent cried out, that Criſpinus was come with no good intention, that the ſenate had ſome deſign againſt the government, and that the arms he was going to carry, were to be made uſe of againſt Cæſar, not for him. This notion ſoon ſpread, and exaſperated numbers: ſome laid hold on the waggons, while others killed two centurions who endeavoured to quell the mutiny, and Criſpinus himſelf. Then the whole party armed, and exhorting each other to go to the emperor's aſſiſtance, they marched ſtraight to Rome. Being informed there that eighty ſenators ſupped with him that evening, they haſtened to the palace, ſaying, Then was the time to cruſh all Cæſar's enemies at once. The city was greatly alarmed, expecting to be plundered immediately. The palace, too, was in the utmoſt confuſion, and Otho himſelf in unſpeakable diſtreſs; for he was under fear and concern for the ſenators, while they were afraid of him;

* This writer, who was a man of conſular dignity, and ſucceeded Galba in the government of Spain, was not called *Claudius*, but *Cluvius* Rufus.

and he ſaw they kept their eyes fixed upon him in ſilence and extreme conſternation; ſome having even brought their wives with them to ſupper. He therefore ordered the principal officers of the guards to go and ſpeak to the ſoldiers and endeavour to appeaſe them, and at the ſame time ſent out his gueſts at another door. They had ſcarcely made their eſcape when the ſoldiers ruſhed into the room, and aſked what was become of the enemies of Cæſar. The emperor then riſing from his couch, uſed many arguments to ſatisfy them, and by intreaties and tears at laſt prevailed upon them, with much difficulty, to deſiſt.

Next day, having preſented the ſoldiers with twelve hundred and fifty *drachmas* a man, he entered the camp. On this occaſion he commended the troops as in general well affected to his government, but at the ſame time he told them there were ſome deſigning men amongſt them, who by their cabals brought his moderation and their fidelity both into queſtion: theſe, he ſaid, deſerved their reſentment; and he hoped they would aſſiſt him in puniſhing them. They applauded his ſpeech, and deſired him to chaſtiſe whatever perſons he thought proper; but he pitched upon two only for capital puniſhment, whom no man could poſſibly regret, and then returned to his palace.

Thoſe who had conceived an affection for Otho, and placed a confidence in him, admired this change in his conduct; but others thought it was no more than a piece of policy which the times neceſſarily required, and that he aſſumed a popular behaviour on account of the impending war: for now he had undoubted intelligence that Vitellius had taken the title of emperor and all the enſigns of ſupreme power; and couriers daily arrived with news of continual additions to his party. Other meſſengers alſo arrived with accounts that the forces in Pannonia, Dalmatia, and Myſia, with their generals, had declared for Otho;

Otho; and a few days after, he received obliging letters from Mucianus and Veſpaſian, who both commanded numerous armies, the one in Syria, and the other in Judea.

Elated with this intelligence, he wrote to Vitellius, adviſing him not to aſpire to things above his rank; and promiſed, in caſe he deſiſted, to ſupply him liberally with money, and give him a city in which he might ſpend his days in pleaſure and repoſe. Vitellius at firſt gave him an anſwer, in which ridicule was tempered with civility: but afterwards, being both thoroughly exaſperated, they wrote to each other in a ſtile of the bittereſt invective. Not that their mutual reproaches were groundleſs, but it was abſurd for the one to inſult the other with what might with equal juſtice be objected to both: for their charges conſiſted of prodigality, effeminacy, incapacity for war, their former poverty and immenſe debts; ſuch articles that it is hard to ſay which of them had the advantage.

As to the ſtories of prodigies and apparitions at that time, many of them were founded upon vague reports that could not be traced to their author. But in the capitol there was a Victory mounted upon a chariot; and numbers of people ſaw her let the reins fall out of her hands, as if ſhe had loſt the power to hold them. And in the iſland of the Tiber, the ſtatue of Julius Cæſar turned from weſt to eaſt, without either earthquake or whirlwind to move it:—a circumſtance which is ſaid likewiſe to have happened when Veſpaſian openly took upon him the direction of affairs. The inundation of the Tiber, too, was conſidered by the populace as a bad omen. It was at a time, indeed, when rivers uſually overflow their banks; but the flood never roſe ſo high before, nor was ſo ruinous in its effects; for now it laid great part of the city under water, particularly the corn-market, and cauſed a famine, which continued for ſome days.

About

About this time news was brought that Cecina and Valens, who acted for Vitellius, had ſeized the paſſes of the Alps. And in Rome, Dolabella, who was of an illuſtrious family, was ſuſpected by the guards of ſome diſloyal deſign. Otho, either fearing him, or ſome other whom he could influence, ſent him to Aquinum, with aſſurances of friendly treatment. When the emperor came to ſelect the officers that were to attend him on his march, he appointed Lucius, the brother of Vitellius, to be of the number, without either promoting or lowering him in point of rank. He took alſo particular care of the mother and wife of Vitellius, and endeavoured to put them in a ſituation where they had nothing to fear. The government of Rome he gave to Flavius Sabinus, the brother of Veſpaſian; either with an intention to do honour to Nero (for he had formerly given him that appointment, and Galba had deprived him of it) or elſe to ſhew his affection to Veſpaſian by promoting his brother.

Otho himſelf ſtopped at Brixillum, a town in Italy near the Po, and ordered the army to march on under the conduct of his lieutenants, Marius Celſus, Suetonius Paulinus, Gallus, and Spurina, officers of great reputation; but they could not purſue the plan of operations they had formed, by reaſon of the obſtinacy and diſorderly behaviour of the ſoldiers, who declared that *they* had made the emperor, and they would be commanded by him only. The enemy's troops were not under much better diſcipline: they, too, were refractory and diſobedient to their officers, and on the ſame account; yet they had ſeen ſervice, and were accuſtomed to fatigue: whereas Otho's men had been uſed to idleneſs; and their manner of living was quite different from that in the field. Indeed, they had ſpent moſt of their time at public ſpectacles and the entertainments of the theatre; and were come to that degree of inſolence, that they did not pretend to be unable to perform the ſervices

they

they were ordered upon, but affected to be above them. Spurina, who attempted to uſe compulſion, was in danger of being killed by them. They ſpared no manner of abuſe, calling him traitor, and telling him that it was he who ruined the affairs of Cæſar, and purpoſely miſſed the faireſt opportunities. Some of them came in the night, intoxicated with liquor, to his tent, and demanded their diſcharge; "for they had to go," they ſaid, "to Cæſar, to ac- "cuſe him."

The cauſe, however, and Spurina with it, received ſome benefit from the inſult which theſe troops met with at Placentia. Thoſe of Vitellius came up to the walls, and ridiculed Otho's men who were appointed to defend them; calling them players and dancers, fit only to attend the Pythian and Olympic games; fellows who knew nothing of war; who had not even made one campaign; who were ſwoln up with pride merely becauſe they had cut off the head of a poor unarmed old man (meaning Galba); wretches that durſt not look men in the face, or ſtand any thing like a fair and open battle. They were ſo cut with theſe reproaches, and ſo deſirous of revenge, that they threw themſelves at Spurina's feet, and begged of him to command and employ them on whatever ſervice he thought proper, aſſuring him that there was neither danger nor labour which they would decline. After this, the enemy made a vigorous attack upon the town, and plied their battering engines with all their force; but Spurina's men repulſed them with great ſlaughter, and by that means kept poſſeſſion of one of the moſt reſpectable and moſt flouriſhing towns in Italy.

It muſt be obſerved of Otho's officers in general, that they were more obliging in their behaviour, both to cities and private perſons, than thoſe of Vitellius. Cecina, one of the latter, had nothing popular either in his addreſs or his figure. He was of a gigantic ſize, and moſt uncouth appearance; for he wore breeches

breeches and long ſleeves in the manner of the Gauls, even while his ſtandard was Roman, and whilſt he gave his inſtructions to Roman officers. His wife followed him on horſeback, in a rich dreſs, and was attended by a ſelect party of cavalry. Fabius Valens, the other general, had a paſſion for money which was not to be ſatisfied by any plunder from the enemy, or exactions and contributions from the allies. Inſomuch that he was believed to proceed more ſlowly for the ſake of collecting gold as he went, and therefore was not up at the firſt action. Some, indeed, accuſe Cecina of haſtening to give battle before the arrival of Valens, in order that the victory might be all his own; and beſide other leſs faults, they charge him not only with attacking at an unſeaſonable time, but with not maintaining the combat ſo gallantly as he ought to have done: all which errors nearly ruined the affairs of his party.

Cecina, after his repulſe at Placentia, marched againſt Cremona, another rich and great city. In the mean time Annius Gallus, who was going to join Spurina at Placentia, had intelligence by the way that he was victorious, and that the ſiege was raiſed. But being informed at the ſame time that Cremona was in danger, he led his forces thither, and encamped very near the enemy. Afterwards other officers brought in reinforcements *. Cecina poſted a ſtrong body of infantry under cover of ſome trees and thickets; after which, he ordered his cavalry to advance, and if the enemy attacked them, to give way by degrees and retire, till they had drawn them into the ambuſcade; but Celſus being informed of his intention by ſome deſerters, advanced with his beſt cavalry againſt Cecina's troops; and, upon their retreating, he purſued with ſo much caution,

* Επεισλα και των αλλων εκαστος εδοκησει τω στρατηγω. Dacier takes no notice of this paſſage, though a material one both in the place where it ſtands, and with regard to the connexion too.

that

that he ſurrounded the corps that lay in ambuſh. Having thus put them in confuſion, he called the legions from the camp; and it appears, that if they had come up in time to ſupport the horſe, Cecina's whole army would have been cut in pieces; but, as Paulinus advanced very ſlowly *, he was cenſured for having uſed more precaution than became a general of his character: nay, the ſoldiers accuſed him of treachery, and endeavoured to incenſe Otho againſt him, inſiſting that the victory was in their hands; and that if it was not complete, it was owing entirely to the miſmanagement of their generals. Otho did not ſo much believe theſe repreſentations, as he was willing to appear not to diſbelieve them. He therefore ſent his brother Titianus to the army, with Proculus the captain of his guard; Titianus had the command in appearance, and Proculus in reality. Celſus and Paulinus had the title of friends and counſellors, but not the leaſt authority in the direction of affairs.

The enemy, too, were not without their diſſatisfactions and diſorder, particularly amongſt the forces of Valens: for when they were informed of what happened at the ambuſcade, they expreſſed their indignation that their general did not put it in their power to be there, that they might have uſed their endeavours to ſave ſo many brave men who periſhed in that action. They were even inclined to diſpatch him; but having pacified them with much difficulty, he decamped and joined Cecina.

In the mean time Otho came to the camp at Bedriacum, a ſmall town near Cremona, and there held a council of war. Proculus and Titianus were of opi-

* Tacitus tells us, that Paulinus was naturally ſlow and irreſolute. On this occaſion he charges him with two errors: The firſt was, that, inſtead of advancing immediately to the charge, and ſupporting his cavalry, he trifled away the time in filling up the trenches. The ſecond, that he did not avail himſelf of the diſorder of the enemy, but ſounded much too early a retreat.

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nion, 'that he ought to give battle while the army 'retained thoſe high ſpirits with which the late vic-'tory had inſpired them, and not ſuffer that ardour 'to cool, nor wait till Vitellius came in perſon 'from Gaul;' but Paulinus was againſt it "The "enemy," ſaid he, "have received all their troops, "and have no farther preparations to make for the "combat; whereas Otho will have from Myſia and "Pannonia forces as numerous as thoſe he has al-"ready, if he will wait his own opportunity, in-"ſtead of giving one to the enemy. And certainly "the army he now has, if with their ſmall numbers "they have ſo much ardour, will not fight with leſs "but greater ſpirit when they ſee their numbers ſo "much increaſed: beſides, the gaining of time "makes for us, becauſe we have every thing in "abundance; but delays muſt greatly diſtreſs Ceci-"na and his colleague for neceſſaries, becauſe they "lie in an enemy's country."

Marius Celſus ſupported the opinion of Paulinus. Annius Gallus could not attend, becauſe he had received ſome hurt by a fall from his horſe, and was under cure. Otho therefore wrote to him, and Gallus adviſed him not to precipitate matters, but to wait for the army from Myſia, which was already on the way. Otho, however, would not be guided by theſe counſels; and the opinion of thoſe prevailed who were for hazarding a battle immediately. Different reaſons are, indeed, alleged for this reſolution. The moſt probable is, that the praetorian cohorts, which compoſed the emperor's guards, now coming to taſte what real war was, longed to be once more at a diſtance from it, to return to the eaſe, the company, and public diverſions of Rome; and therefore they could not be reſtrained in their eagerneſs for a battle; for they imagined they could overpower the enemy at the firſt charge. Beſides, Otho ſeems to have been no longer able to ſupport himſelf in a ſtate of ſuſpenſe; ſuch an averſion to the thoughts of dan-

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ger had his diſſipation and effeminacy given him! Overburthened then by his cares, he haſtened to free himſelf from their weight; he covered his eyes, and leaped down the precipice; he committed all at once to fortune. Such is the account given of the matter by the orator Secundus, who was Otho's ſecretary.

Others ſay, that the two parties were much inclined to lay down their arms, and unite in chuſing an emperor out of the beſt generals they had; or, if they could not agree upon it, to leave the election to the ſenate. Nor is it improbable, as the two who were called emperors were neither of them men of reputation, that the experienced and prudent part of the ſoldiers ſhould form ſuch a deſign: for they could not but reflect how unhappy and dreadful a thing it would be to plunge themſelves into the ſame calamities, which the Romans could not bring upon each other without aching hearts, in the quarrels of Sylla and Marius, of Cæſar and Pompey: and for what? but to provide an empire to miniſter to the inſatiable appetite and the drunkenneſs of Vitellius, or to the luxury and debaucheries of Otho. Theſe conſiderations are ſuppoſed to have induced Celſus to endeavour to gain time, in hopes that matters might be compromiſed without the ſword; while Otho, out of fear of ſuch an agreement, haſtened the battle.

In the mean time he returned to Brixillum *, which certainly was an additional error: for by that ſtep he deprived the combatants of the reverence and emulation which his preſence might have inſpired, and took a conſiderable limb from the body of the army, I mean ſome of the beſt and moſt active

* It was debated in council, whether the emperor ſhould be preſent in the action, or not. Marius Celſus and Paulinus durſt not vote for it, leſt they ſhould ſeem inclined to expoſe his perſon. He therefore retired to Brixillum; which was a circumſtance that contributed not a little to his ruin.

men,

men, both horſe and foot, for his body-guard. There happened about that time a rencounter upon the Po, while Cecina's troops endeavoured to lay a bridge over that river, and Otho's to prevent it. The latter, finding their other efforts ineffectual, put a quantity of torches, well covered with brimſtone and pitch, into ſome boats, which were carried by the wind and current upon the enemy's work. Firſt ſmoke, and afterwards a bright flame aroſe; upon which, Cecina's men were ſo terrified, that they leaped into the river, overſet their boats, and were entirely expoſed to their enemies, who laughed at their aukward diſtreſs.

The German troops, however, beat Otho's gladiators in a little iſland of the Po, and killed a conſiderable number of them. Otho's army that was in Bedriacum, reſenting this affront, inſiſted on being led out to battle. Accordingly Proculus marched, and pitched his camp at the diſtance of fifty furlongs from Bedriacum; but he choſe his ground in a very unſkilful manner: for, though it was in the ſpring ſeaſon, and the country afforded many ſprings and rivulets, his army was diſtreſſed for water. Next day, Proculus was for marching againſt the enemy, who lay not leſs than a hundred furlongs off; but Paulinus would not agree to it. He ſaid, they ought to keep the poſt they had taken, rather than fatigue themſelves firſt, and then immediately engage an enemy, who could arm and put themſelves in order of battle at their leiſure, while they were making ſuch a march with all the incumbrance of baggage and ſervants. The generals diſputed the point, till a Numidian horſeman came with letters from Otho, ordering them to make no longer delay, but proceed to the attack without loſing a moment's time. Then they decamped of courſe, and went to ſeek the enemy. The news of their approach threw Cecina into great confuſion; and immediately quitting his works and poſt upon the river

ver he repaired to the camp, where he found moſt of the ſoldiers armed, and the word already given by Valens.

During the time that the infantry were forming, the beſt of the cavalry were directed to ſkirmiſh. At that moment a report was ſpread, from what cauſe we cannot tell, amongſt Otho's van, that Vitellius's officers were coming over to their party. As ſoon, therefore, as they approached, they ſaluted them in a friendly manner, calling them fellow-ſoldiers. But inſtead of receiving the appellation, they anſwered with a furious and hoſtile ſhout. The conſequence was, that the perſons who made the compliment were diſpirited, and the reſt ſuſpected them of treaſon. This was the firſt thing that diſconcerted Otho's troops; for by this time the enemy had charged. Beſides, they could preſerve no order; the intermixture of the baggage, and the nature of the ground, preventing any regular movement; for the ground was ſo full of ditches and other inequalities, that they were forced to break their ranks and wheel about to avoid them, and could only fight in ſmall parties. There were but two legions, one of Vitellius's, called *the devourer*, and one of Otho's, called *the ſuccourer*, which could diſentangle themſelves from the defiles, and gain the open plain. Theſe engaged in a regular battle, and fought a long time. Otho's men were vigorous and brave, but they had not ſeen ſo much as one action before this; on the other hand, thoſe of Vitellius had much experience in the field, but they were old, and their ſtrength decaying.

Otho's legion coming on with great fury, mowed down the firſt ranks, and took the eagle. The enemy, filled with ſhame and reſentment, advanced to chaſtiſe them, ſlew Orphidius, who commanded the legion, and took ſeveral ſtandards. Againſt the gladiators, who had the reputation of being brave fellows, and excellent at cloſe fighting, Alphenus

Varus brought up the Batavians, who come from an iſland formed by the Rhine; and are the beſt cavalry in Germany. A few of the gladiators made head againſt them; but the greateſt part fled to the river, and falling in with ſome of the enemy's infantry that was poſted there, were all cut in pieces. But none behaved ſo ill that day as the prætorian bands: they did not even wait to receive the enemy's charge; and in their flight they broke through the troops that as yet ſtood their ground, and put them in diſorder. Nevertheleſs, many of Otho's men were irreſiſtible in the quarter where they fought, and opened a way through the victorious enemy to their camp. But Proculus and Paulinus took another way; for they dreaded the ſoldiers, who already blamed their generals for the loſs of the day.

Annius Gallus received into the city all the ſcattered parties, and endeavoured to encourage them by aſſurances that the advantage upon the whole was equal, and that their troops had the ſuperiority in many parts of the field. But Marius Celſus aſſembled the principal officers, and deſired them to conſider of meaſures that might ſave their country. "After ſuch an expence of Roman blood," ſaid he, "Otho himſelf, if he has a patriotic principle, would "not tempt fortune any more; ſince Cato and Sci-"pio, in refuſing to ſubmit to Cæſar after the bat-"tle of Pharſalia, are accuſed of having unneceſſa-"rily ſacrificed the lives of ſo many brave men in "Africa, notwithſtanding that they fought for the "liberties of their country. Fortune, indeed, is "capricious, and all men are liable to ſuffer by her "inconſtancy; yet good men have one advantage "which ſhe cannot deprive them of, and that is, to "avail themſelves of their reaſon in whatever may "befal them." Theſe arguments prevailed with the officers; and on ſounding the private men, they found them deſirous of peace. Titianus himſelf was of opinion that they ought to ſend ambaſſadors to

treat

treat for a coalition. In purſuance of which, Celſus and Gallus were charged with a commiſſion to Cecina and Valens. As they were upon the road, they met ſome centurions, who informed them that Vitellius's army was advancing to Bedriacum, and that they were ſent before by their generals with propoſals for an accommodation. Celſus and Gallus commended their deſign, and deſired them to go back with them to meet Cecina.

When they approached that general's army, Celſus was in great danger; for the cavalry that were beaten in the affair of the ambuſcade, happened to be in the van; and they no ſooner ſaw Celſus, than they advanced with loud ſhouts againſt him. The centurions, however, put themſelves before him; and the other officers called out to them to do him no violence. Cecina himſelf, when he was informed of the tumult, rode up and quelled it; and after he had made his compliments to Celſus in a very obliging manner, accompanied him to Bedriacum.

In the mean time, Titianus repenting that he had ſent the ambaſſadors, placed the moſt reſolute of the ſoldiers again upon the walls, and exhorted the reſt to be aſſiſting; but when Cecina rode up and offered his hand, not a man of them could reſiſt him. Some ſaluted his men from the walls, and others opened the gates; after which they went out and mixed with the troops that were coming up. Inſtead of acts of hoſtility, there was nothing but mutual careſſes and other demonſtrations of friendſhip; in conſequence of which, they all took the oath to Vitellius, and ranged themſelves under his banner.

This is the account which moſt of thoſe that were in the battle give of it; but at the ſame time they confeſs that they did not know all the particulars, becauſe of the confuſed manner in which they fought, and the inequality of the ground. Long after, when I was paſſing over the field of battle, Meſtrius Flo-

rus, a perſon of conſular dignity, ſhewed me an old man, who in his youth had ſerved under Otho with others of the ſame age with himſelf, not from inclination but conſtraint *. He told me alſo, that on viſiting the field, after the battle, he ſaw a large pile of dead bodies as high as the head of a man; and upon enquiring into the reaſon, he could neither diſcover it himſelf, nor get any information about it. It was no wonder that there was a great carnage in caſe of a general route, becauſe in a civil war they make no priſoners; for ſuch captives would be of no advantage to the conquerors; but it is difficult to aſſign a reaſon why the carcaſſes ſhould be piled up in that manner.

* From this paſſage Dacier would infer that the life of Otho was not written by Plutarch. He ſays, a perſon who ſerved when a young man under Otho, could not be old at the time when Plutarch can be ſuppoſed to have viſited that field of battle. His argument is this: That battle was fought in the year of Chriſt ſixty-nine: Plutarch returned from Italy to Chæronea about the end of Domitian's reign, in the year of Chriſt ninety-three or ninety-four, and never left his native city any more. As this retreat of Plutarch's was only twenty-four or twenty-five years after the battle of Bedriacum, he concludes that a perſon who fought in that battle a young man, could not poſſibly be old when Plutarch made the tour of Italy, and therefore conjectures that this, as well as the life of Galba, muſt have been written by a ſon of Plutarch.

But we think no argument, in a matter of ſuch importance, ought to be adduced from a paſſage manifeſtly corrupt. For, inſtead of ονλα παλαιον we muſt either read ἑνα ονλα παλαιον, or νυν δε παλαιον ἑνα, to make either Greek or ſenſe of it.

Lamprias, in the catalogue, aſcribes theſe two lives to his father. Nor do we ſee ſuch a diſſimilarity to Plutarch's other writings, either in the ſtile or manner, as warrants us to conclude that they are not of his hand.

Henry Stevens did not, indeed, take them into his edition, becauſe he found them amongſt the *opuſcula*; and, as ſome of the *opuſcula* were ſuppoſed to be ſpurious, he believed too haſtily that theſe were of the number.

We think the loſs of Plutarch's other lives of the emperors a real loſs to the world, and ſhould have been glad if they had come down to us, even in the ſame imperfect condition as to the text, as thoſe of Galba and Otho.

An uncertain rumour (as it commonly happens) was firſt brought to Otho, and afterwards ſome of the wounded came and aſſured him that the battle was loſt. On this occaſion, it was nothing extraordinary that his friends ſtrove to encourage him and keep him from deſponding; but the attachment of the ſoldiers to him exceeds all belief. None of them left him, or went over to the enemy, or conſulted his own ſafety, even when their chief deſpaired of his. On the contrary, they crowded his gates; they called him emperor; they left no form of application untried *; they kiſſed his hands; they fell at his feet; and with groans and tears intreated him not to forſake them, nor give them up to their enemies, but to employ their hearts and hands to the laſt moment of their lives. They all joined in this requeſt: and one of the private men drawing his ſword, thus addreſſed himſelf to Otho: "Know, "Cæſar, what your ſoldiers are ready to do for "you;" and immediately plunged the ſteel into his heart.

Otho was not moved at this affecting ſcene, but with a cheerful and ſteady countenance looking round upon the company, he ſpoke as follows: "This "day, my fellow-ſoldiers, I conſider as a more "happy one than that on which you made me "emperor, when I ſee you thus diſpoſed, and am "ſo great in your opinion. But deprive me not of "a ſtill greater happineſs,—that of laying down my "life with honour for ſo many generous Romans "If I am worthy of the Roman empire, I ought to "ſhed my blood for my country. I know the victory my adverſaries has gained is by no means de"ciſive. I have intelligence that my army from "Myſia is at the diſtance of but a few days march;

* Inſtead of εγινοῦλο τροπαια, which has nothing to do here, one of the commentators propoſes to read εγινοῦλο παῦλοις; which is a common phraſe with Plutarch.

" Aſia, Syria, and Egypt, are pouring their legions " upon the Adriatic; the forces in Judea declare " for us; the ſenate is with us; and the very wives " and children of our enemies are ſo many pledges " in our hands. But we are not fighting for Italy " with Annibal, or Pyrrhus, or the Cymbrians; " our diſpute is with Romans; and whatever party " prevails, whether we conquer or are conquered, our " country muſt ſuffer. Under the victor's joy ſhe " bleeds. Believe then, my friends, that I can die " with greater glory than reign; for I know no be- " nefit that Rome can reap from my victory, equal " to what I ſhall confer upon her by ſacrificing myſelf " for peace and unanimity, and to prevent Italy from " beholding ſuch another day as this!"

After he had made this ſpeech, and ſhewed himſelf immoveable to thoſe who attempted to alter his reſolution, he deſired his friends and ſuch ſenators as were preſent, to leave him, and provide for their own ſafety. To thoſe that were abſent he ſent the ſame commands; and ſignified his pleaſure to the cities by letters, that they ſhould receive them honourably, and ſupply them with good convoys.

He then called his nephew Cocceius*, who was yet very young, and bade him compoſe himſelf, and not fear Vitellius. " I have taken the ſame care," ſaid he, " of his mother, his wife and children, as " if they had been my own: And for the ſame " reaſon, I mean for your ſake, I deferred the adop- " tion which I intended you; for I thought proper " to wait the iſſue of this war, that you might reign " with me if I conquered, and not fall with me if " I was overcome. The laſt thing, my ſon, I have " to recommend to you, is, neither entirely to for- " get, nor yet to remember too well that you had an " emperor for your uncle."

* Tacitus and Suetonius call him *Cocceianus*.

A mo-

A moment after, he heard a great noiſe and tumult at his gate. The ſoldiers ſeeing the ſenators retiring, threatened to kill them if they moved a ſtep farther, or abandoned the emperor. Otho, in great concern for them, ſhewed himſelf again at the door, but no longer with a mild and ſupplicating air; on the contrary, he caſt ſuch a ſtern and angry look upon the moſt turbulent part of them, that they withdrew in great fear and confuſion.

In the evening he was thirſty, and drank a little water: then he had two ſwords brought him; and having examined the points of both a long time, he ſent away the one, and put the other under his arm. After this, he called his ſervants, and with many expreſſions of kindneſs gave them money: not that he choſe to be laviſh of what would ſoon be another's; for he gave to ſome more, and to ſome leſs, proportioning his bounty to their merit, and paying a ſtrict regard to propriety.

When he had diſmiſſed them, he dedicated the remainder of the night to repoſe, and ſlept ſo ſound that his chamberlains heard him at the door. Early in the morning he called his freedman, who aſſiſted him in the care of the ſenators, and ordered him to make the proper enquiries about them. The anſwer he brought was, that they were gone, and had been provided with every thing they deſired. Upon which he ſaid, "Go you, then, and ſhew yourſelf "to the ſoldiers, that they may not imagine you "have aſſiſted me in diſpatching myſelf, and put "you to ſome cruel death for it."

As ſoon as the freedman was gone out, he fixed the hilt of his ſword upon the ground, and holding it with both hands, fell upon it with ſo much force, that he expired with one groan. The ſervants who waited without heard the groan, and burſt into a loud lamentation; which was echoed through the camp and the city. The ſoldiers ran to the gates with the moſt pitiable wailings, and moſt unfeigned

grief, reproaching themſelves for not guarding their emperor, and preventing his dying for them. Not one of them would leave him to provide for himſelf, though the enemy was approaching. They attired the body in a magnificent manner, and prepared a funeral pile; after which they attended the proceſſion in their armour; and happy was the man that could come to ſupport his bier. Some kneeled and kiſſed his wound, ſome graſped his hand, and others proſtrated themſelves on the ground, and adored him at a diſtance: nay, there were ſome who threw their torches upon the pile, and then ſlew themſelves. Not that they had received any extraordinary favours from the deceaſed, or were afraid of ſuffering under the hands of the conqueror: but it ſeems that no king or tyrant was ever ſo paſſionately fond of governing as they were of being governed by Otho. Nor did their affection ceaſe with his death: it ſurvived the grave, and terminated in the hatred and deſtruction of Vitellius.—Of that we ſhall give an account in its proper place.

After they had interred the remains of Otho, they erected a monument over them, which neither by its ſize nor any pomp of epitaph, could excite the leaſt envy. I have ſeen it at Brixillum; it was very modeſt, and the inſcription only this,

TO THE MEMORY OF MARCUS OTHO.

Otho died at the age of thirty-ſeven, having reigned only three months. Thoſe who find fault with his life, are not more reſpectable either for their numbers or for their rank, than thoſe who applaud his death; for, though his life was not much better than that of Nero, yet his death was nobler.

The ſoldiers were extremely incenſed againſt Pollio, one of the principal officers of the guards, for perſuading them to take the oath immediately to Vitellius; and being informed that there were ſtill ſome ſenators on the ſpot, they let the others paſs,

but

but ſolicited Verginius Rufus in a very troubleſome manner. They went in arms to his houſe, and inſiſted that he ſhould take the imperial title, or at leaſt be their mediator with the conqueror. But he who had refuſed to accept that title from them when they were victorious, thought it would be the greateſt madneſs to embrace it after they were beaten: and he was afraid of applying to the Germans in their behalf, becauſe he had obliged that people to do many things contrary to their inclinations. He therefore went out privately at another door. When the ſoldiers found that he had left them, they took the oath to Vitellius; and having obtained their pardon, were enrolled amongſt the troops of Cecina.

THE END OF PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

An Account of WEIGHTS, MEASURES, and Denominations of MONEY,

Mentioned by Plutarch.

From the Tables of Dr. ARBUTHNOT.

WEIGHTS.

	lb.	*oz.*	*p. wt.*	*gr.*
THE *Roman Libra* or Pound	00	10	18	$13\frac{5}{7}$
The *Attic Mina* or Pound -	00	11	07	$16\frac{2}{7}$
The *Attic Talent* equal to ſixty *Minæ*	56	11	00	$17\frac{1}{7}$

DRY MEASURES OF CAPACITY.

	peck.	*gal.*	*pints*
The *Roman Modius* - - - - - - - -	1	0	$2\frac{2}{9}$
The *Attic Chœnix* one Pint, $15,705\frac{8}{4}$ ſolid inches . - -	nearly		$1\frac{1}{2}$
The *Attic Medimnus* - - - - - - -	4	0	$6\frac{1}{10}$

LIQUID MEASURES OF CAPACITY.

	pint.	*ſolid inches*
The *Cotyle* - - - - - - - - - -	$\frac{1}{2}$	$2,141\frac{1}{2}$
The *Cyathus* - - - - - - - - -	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$0,356\frac{11}{12}$
The *Chus* - - - - - - - - - -	6	25,698

MEASURES OF LENGTH.

	Eng. paces.	*feet.*	*inches.*
The *Roman Foot* - - - - - - -	0	0	$11\frac{3}{5}$
The *Roman Cubit* - - - - - - -	0	1	$5\frac{2}{3}$
The *Roman Pace* - - - - - - -	0	4	10
The *Roman Furlong* - - - -	120	4	4
The *Roman Mile* - - - - -	967	0	0
The *Grecian Cubit* - - - - -	0	1	$6\frac{1}{8}$
The *Grecian Furlong* - - - -	100	4	$4\frac{1}{4}$
The *Grecian Mile* - - - - -	805	5	0

N. B. In this computation the Engliſh Pace is five Feet.

MONEY.

MONEY.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*	*q.*
The *Quadrans*, about - -	0	0	0	$0\frac{3}{4}$
The *As* - - - - - - - -	0	0	0	$0\frac{3}{10}$
The *Seſtertius* - - -	0	0	1	$3\frac{3}{4}$
The *Seſtertium* equal to 1000 *Seſtertii*	8	1	5	2
The *Denarius* - - - - -	0	0	7	3
The *Attic Obolus* - - -	0	0	1	$1\frac{1}{6}$
The *Drachma* - - - - -	0	0	7	3
The *Mina*—100 *Drachma* -	3	4	7	0
The *Talent*—60 *Minae* - -	193	15	0	0
The *Stater Aureus* of the Greeks weighing two Attic drachms	0	16	1	3
The *Statur Daricus* - -	1	12	3	0
The *Roman Aureus* was of different Value at different Periods. According to the Proportion mentioned by Tacitus, when it exchanged for 25 Denarii, it was of the ſame Value as the Grecian Stater.	0	16	1	3

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE,

From DACIER, and other Writers.

Years of the world.	Years before the 1st Olympiad.		Yrs. before the building of Rome.	Years before Christ.
		DEUCALIONS's deluge	761	1511
2447	627	Minos I. ſon of Jupiter and Europa.	651	1401
2698	486	Minos II. grandſon of the firſt.	500	1250
2720	454	The expedition of the Argonauts. Theſeus attended Jaſon in it.	473	1228
2768	406	Troy taken. Demophon the ſon of Theſeus was at the ſiege.	430	1180
2847	327	The return of the Heraclidone to Peloponneſus.	351	1101
2880	294	The firſt war of the Athenians againſt Sparta. Codrus devotes himſelf.	318	1068
2894	288	The Helots ſubdued by Agis.	304	1055
2908	266	The Ionic migration.	290	1040
3045	129	Lycurgus flouriſhes.	153	904
3174	I.	The firſt Olympiad. ——	25	774
	Olympiads.	ROMULUS.		
3918	vii. i.	Rome built. ——		750

Years of the world.	Olympiads.		Yrs. of Rome.	Before Christ.
3201	vii. 4.	The rape of the Sabine virgins.	4	747
3235	xvi. 1.	The death of Romulus.	38	713
		NUMA.		
3236	xvi. 3.	Numa elected king.	39	712
3279	xxvii. 2	Numa dies.	82	669
		SOLON.		
3350	xlv. 1.	Solon flouriſhes.	153	598
3350		Cylon's conſpiracy.		
3354	xlvi. 1.	Epimenides goes to Athens, and expiates the city. He dies ſoon after, at the age of 154. The ſeven wiſe men; Æſop and Anacharſis flouriſh.	157	594
3356	xlvi. 3.	Solon Archon.	159	592
		Croeſus, king of Lydia.		
3370	l. 1.	Pythagoras goes into Italy.	173	578
		Piſiſtratus ſets up his tyranny.		
3391	lv. 2.	Cyrus, king of Perſia.	194	557
3401	lvii. 4.	Croeſus taken.	204	547
		PUBLICOLA		
3442	lxviii. 1.	Is choſen conſul in the room of Collatinus.	245	506
		Brutus fights Aruns, the eldeſt ſon of Tarquin. Both are killed.		
3444	lxviii. 3.	Publicola conſul the third time. His colleague Horatius Pulvillus dedicates the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.	247	504
		Horatius Cocles defends the Sublician bridge againſt the Tuſcans.		
3448	lxix. 3.	Publicola dies.	251	500
		Zeno Eleates flouriſhed.		499
3459	lxxii. 1.	The battle of Marathon.	262	489
		CORIOLANUS		
3460	lxxii. 2.	Is baniſhed, and retires to the Volſci.	263	488
3462	lxxiii. 1.	Herodotus is born.	265	486

Cori-

Years of the world	Olympiads.		Yrs of Rome.	Before Christ.
3463	lxxiii. 2.	Coriolanus beſieges Rome; but being prevailed upon by his mother to retire, is ſtoned to death by the Volſci.	269	485
3467	lxxiv. 2.	Ariſtides is baniſhed for ten years, but recalled at the expiration of three.	270	481
		THEMISTOCLES.		
3470	lxxv. 1	The battle of Salamis. —	273	478
3471	lxxv. 2.	The battle of Plataeae.	274	477
3474	lxxvi. 1.	Thucydides is born. —	277	474
3479	lxxvii. 2.	Themiſtocles is baniſhed by the Oſtraciſm.	282	469
		CIMON		
3480	lxxvii. 3.	Beats the Perſians both at ſea and land.	283	468
3481	lxxvii. 4.	Socrates is born. He lived ſeventy-one years.	284	467
3500	lxxxii. 3.	Cimon dies. Alcibiades born the ſame year. Herodotus and Thucydides flouriſh: the latter is twelve or thirteen years younger than the former.	303	448
——	——	Pindar dies, eighty years old.	——	440
		PERICLES		
3519	lxxxvii. 2.	Stirs up the Peloponneſian war, which laſts twenty-ſeven years. He was very young when the Romans ſent the Decemviri to Athens for Solon's laws.	322	429
3521	lxxxvii. 4	Pericles dies.	324	427
3522	lxxxviii. 1.	Plato is born. Xerxes killed by Artabanus.	325	426
		NICIAS.		
3535	xci. 2.	The Athenians undertake the Sicilian war.	338	413
3537	xci. 4.	Nicias beaten and put to death in Sicily.	340	411
		ALCIBIADES		
3538	xcii. 1.	Takes refuge at Sparta, and		

afterwards

Years of the world.	Olympiads.		Yrs of Rome.	Before Christ.
		afterwards amongst the Persians.		
3539	xcii. 2.	Dionysius the Elder now tyrant of Sicily.	342	409
——	——	Sophocles dies, aged 91.	——	407
——	——	Euripides dies, aged 75.	——	406
		LYSANDER		
3545	xciii. 4.	Puts an end to the Peloponnesian war, and establishes the thirty tyrants at Athens.	348	403
——	——	Thrasybulus expels them.	——	401
3546	xciv. 1.	Alcibiades put to death by order of Pharnabazus.	349	402
		ARTAXERXES MNEMON		
3549	xciv. 4.	Overthrows his brother Cyrus in a great battle. The retreat of the ten thousand Greeks conducted by Xenophon.	352	399
3550	xcv. 1.	Socrates dies.	353	398
		AGESILAUS		
3553	xcv. 4.	Ascends the Spartan throne.	356	395
3554	xcvi. 1.	Lysander sent to the Hellespont	357	394
3555	xcvi. 2.	Agesilaus defeats the Persian cavalry. Lysander dies.	——	——
3561	xcvii. 4.	The Romans lose the battle of Allia.	364	387
		CAMILLUS		
3562	xcviii. 1.	Retires to Ardea.	365	386
3566	xcix. 1.	Aristotle born.	369	382
3569	xcix. 1.	Demosthenes born.	372	379
3574	ci. 1.	Chabrias defeats the Lacedaemonians.	377	374
3579	cii. 2.	Peace between the Athenians and Lacedaemonians. The important battle of Leuctra	382	369
		PELOPIDAS, General of the Thebans.		
3580	cii. 3.	He headed the sacred band the year before at Leuctra, where	383	368

Epaminondas

Years of the world.	Olympiads.		Yrs. of Rome.	Before Christ.
		Epaminondas commanded in chief.		
3582	ciii. 1.	Dionyſius the Elder, tyrant of Sicily, dies, and is ſucceeded his ſon.	385	366
3584	ciii. 3.	Iſocratis flouriſhes.	387	364
		TIMOLEON		
3585	ciii. 4.	Kills his brother Timophanes, who was ſetting himſelf up tyrant in Corinth.	388	363
3586	civ. 1.	Pelopidas defeats Alexander, the tyrant of Pherae, but falls in the battle.	——	——
3587	civ. 2.	The famous battle of Mantinea, in which Epaminondas, though victorious, is killed by the ſon of Xenophon.	390	361
3588	civ. 3.	Camillus dies. —	391	360
3589	civ. 4.	Artaxerxes dies. So does Ageſilaus.	392	359
		DION		
3593	cv. 4.	Expels Dionyſius the Younger.	396	355
3594	cvi. 1.	Alexander the Great born.	397	354
3596	cvi. 3.	Dion is killed by Callippus.	399	352
		DEMOSTHENES		
3598	cvii. 1.	Begins to thunder againſt Philip.	401	350
		Xenophon dies, aged 90.		
3602	cviii. 1.	Plato dies, aged 80, or 81.	405	346
3605	cviii. 4.	Timoleon ſent to aſſiſt the Syracuſans.	408	343
3607	cix. 2.	Dionyſius the Younger ſent off to Corinth.	410	341
3609	cix. 4.	Epicurus born.	412	339
3612	cx. 3.	The battle of Chæronea, in which Philip beats the Athenians and Thebans.	415	336
3613	cx. 4.	Timoleon dies. ——	416	335
		ALEXANDER THE GREAT		
3614	cxi. 1.	Is declared general of all Greece againſt the Perſians, upon	417	334

the

Years of the world.	Olympiads.		Yrs. of Rome.	Before Christ.
		the death of his father Philip.		
3616	cxi. 3.	The battle of Granicus.	419	332
3619	cxii. 2.	The battle of Arbela.	422	329
3623	cxiii. 2.	Porus beaten.	426	325
3627	cxiv. 1.	Alexander dies, aged 33. Diogenes dies, aged 90.	430	321
		Ariſtotle dies, aged 63.		319
		PHOCION		
3632	cxv. 3.	Retires to Polyperchon, but is delivered up by him to the Athenians, who put him to death.	435	316
		EUMENES,		
3634	cxvi. 1.	Who had attained to a conſiderable rank amongſt the ſucceſſors of Alexander the Great, is betrayed to Antigonus, and put to death.	437	314
		DEMETRIUS,		
3636	cxvi. 3.	Surnamed Poliorcetes, permitted by his father Antigonus to command the army in Syria, when only twenty-two years of age.	439	312
3643	cxviii. 2.	He reſtores the Athenians to their liberty; but they chuſe to remain in the worſt of chains, thoſe of ſervility and meanneſs. Dionyſius the tyrant dies at Heraclea, aged 55.	446	303
		PYRRHUS,		
3670	cxxv. 1.	King of Epirus, paſſes over into Italy, where he is defeated by Lævinus.	473	278
3685	cxxviii. 4.	The firſt punic war, which laſted twenty-four years.	488	263
3699	cxxxi. 3.	Philopœmen born. In the year before Chriſt 288, died Theophraſtus, aged 85.	499	252

Years of the world.	Olympiads.		Yrs. of Rome.	Before Christ.
		And in the year before Christ 285 Theocritus flourished.		
		ARATUS		
3699	cxxxii. 1.	Of Sicyon delivered his native city from the tyranny of Nicocles.	502	249
		AGIS *and* CLEOMENES		
3723	cxxxviii. 2.	Cotemporaries with Aratus; for Aratus being beaten by Cleomenes, calls in Antigonus from Macedonia, which proves the ruin of Greece.	526	225
		PHILOPOEMEN		
3727	cxxxix. 2.	Thirty years old when Cleomenes took Megalopolis. About this time lived Hannibal, Marcellus, Fabius Maximus, and Scipio Africanus	530	221
3731	cxl. 2.	The second Punic war, which lasted eighteen years.	534	217
3733	cxl. 4.	Hannibal beats the consul Flaminius at the Thrasymenian lake;	536	215
3734	cxli. 1.	And the Consuls Varro and Æmilius, at Cannae.	537	214
3736	cxli. 3.	He is beaten by Marcellus at Nola.	539	212
3738	cxlii. 1.	Marcellus takes Syracuse. —	541	210
3741	cxlii. 4.	Fabius Maximus seizes Tarentum.	544	207
3747	cxliv. 2.	Fabius Maximus dies. ——	550	201
3749	cxliv. 4.	Scipio triumphs for his conquests in Africa.	552	199
		T. QUINTUS FLAMINIUS		
3752	cxlv. 3.	Elected consul at the age of thirty.	555	196
		CATO THE CENSOR		
		Was 21 or 22 years old when Fabius Maximus took Tarentum. See above.		

Years of the world	Olympiads.		Yrs. of Rome.	Before Christ.
3754	cxlv. 1.	All Greece restored to her liberty by T. Q. Flaminius. Flaminius triumphs; Demetrius the son of Philip, and Nabis, tyrant of Lacedæmon, follow his chariot.	557	194
3755	cxlvi. 2.	Cato triumphs for his conquests in Spain.	558	193
3766	cxlix. 1.	Scipio Africanus dies — —	569	182
3767	cxlix. 2.	Philopoemen dies — —	570	181
		ÆMILIUS PAULUS,		
3782	cliii. 1.	When first consul, was beaten by Hannibal at Cannæ. When consul the second time, he conquered Perseus, and brought him in chains to Rome. Now Terence flourished.	585	166
3790	clv. 1.	Paulus Æmilius dies. —	593	158
3794	clvi. 1.	Marius born. — —	597	154
3801	clvii. 4.	The third Punic war, which continued four years Cato the Censor dies.	604	147
3804	clviii. 3.	Scipio Æmilianus destroys Carthage; and Mummius sacks and burns Corinth.	607	144
—	—	Carneades dies, aged 85. —	—	129
—	—	Polybus dies, aged 81. —	—	123
		TIBERIUS *and* CAIUS GRACCHUS.		
3827	clxiv. 2.	The laws of Caius Gracchus.	630	121
		MARIUS		
3843	clxvii. 2.	Marches against Jugurtha. Cicero born.	646	105
3844	clxviii. 3.	Pompey born. — —	647	104
3846	clxix. 1.	Marius, now consul the second time, marches against the Cimbri.	649	102
3850	clxx. 1.	Julius Cæsar is born in the sixth consulship of Marius.	653	98
—	—	Lucretius born. — —	—	94

Years of the world.	Olympiads.		Yrs. of Rome.	Before Christ.
		SYLLA,		
3855	clxxi. 2.	After his praetorſhip, ſent into Cappadocia.	658	93
3862	clxxiii. 1.	Makes himſelf maſter of Rome	665	86
3863	clxxiii. 2.	Takes Athens. —— Marius dies the ſame year.	666	85
		SERTORIUS		
3867	clxxiv. 2.	Sent into Spain. ——	670	81
3868	clxxiv. 3.	The younger Marius beaten by Sylla; yet ſoon after, he defeats Pontius Teleſinus at the gates of Rome. Sylla enters the city, and, being created dictator, exerciſes all manner of cruelties.	671	80
		CRASSUS		
		Enriches himſelf with buying the eſtates of perſons proſcribed.		
		POMPEY,		
3869	clxxiv. 4.	At the age of twenty-five, is ſent into Africa againſt Domitius, and beats him.	672	79
		CATO *of Utica*,		
		Was younger than Pompey; for he was but fourteen years old when Sylla's proſcriptions were in their utmoſt rage.		
		CICERO		
3870	clxxv. 1.	Defends Roſcius againſt the practices of Sylla. This was his firſt public pleading. After this, he retires to Athens, to finiſh his ſtudies.	673	78
3871	clxxv. 2.	Sylla, after having deſtroyed above 100,000 Roman citizens, proſcribed 90 ſenators, and 2600 knights, reſigns his dictatorſhip, and dies the year following.	674	77
3874	clxxvi. 1.	Pompey manages the war in Spain againſt Sertorius.	677	74

LUCULLUS,

Years of the world.	Olympiads.		Yrs. of Rome.	Before Christ.
		LUCULLUS,		
3877	clxxvi. 4.	After his conſulſhip, is ſent againſt Mithridates.	680	71
3879	clxxvii. 2.	Sertorius aſſaſſinated in Spain. Craſſus conſul with Pompey.	682	69
3881	clxxvii. 4.	Tigranes conquered by Luculus.	684	67
3887	clxxix. 2.	Mithridates dies. Pompey forces the temple of Jeruſalem. Auguſtus Cæſar born.	690	61
		JULIUS CÆSAR,		
3891	clxxx. 2.	Appointed conſul with Bibulus, obtains Illyria and the two Gauls with four legions. He marries his daughter Julia to Pompey.	694	57
3897	clxxxi. 4.	Craſſus is taken by the Parthians and ſlain.	700	51
3902	clxxxiii. 1	Cæſar defeats Pompey at Pharſalia. Pompey flies into Egypt, and is aſſaſſinated there.	705	46
3903	clxxxiii. 2	Cæſar makes himſelf maſter of Alexandria, and ſubdues Egypt; after which, he marches into Syria, and ſoon reduces Pharnaces.	706	45
3904	clxxxiii. 3	He conquers Juba, Scipio, and Petreius, in Africa, and leads up four triumphs. Previous to which, Cato kills himſelf.	707	44
3905	clxxxiii. 4	Caeſar defeats the ſons of Pompey at Munda. Cneius falls in the action, and Sextus flies into Sicily. Caeſar triumphs the fifth time.	708	43
		BRUTUS.		
3906	clxxxiv. 1	Caeſar is killed by Brutus and Caſſius.	709	42
3907	clxxxiv. 2	Brutus paſſes into Macedonia.	710	41

Years of the world.	Olympiads.		Yrs. of Rome.	Before Christ.
		MARK ANTONY		
		Beaten the same year by Augustus at Modena. He retires to Lepidus. The triumvirate of Augustus, Lepidus, and Antony, who divide the empire amongst them.		
3908	clxxxiv. 3	The battle of Philippi, in which Brutus and Cassius, being overthrown by Augustus and Antony, lay violent hands on themselves.	711	40
3909	clxxxiv. 4	Antony leagues with Sextus, the son of Pompey, against Augustus.	712	39
3910	clxxxv. 1.	Augustus and Antony renew their friendship after the death of Fulvia, and Antony marries Octavia.	713	38
3918	clxxxvii. 1.	Augustus and Antony again embroiled.	721	30
3919	clxxxvii. 2.	The battle of Actium. Antony is beaten, and flies into Egypt with Cleopatra.	722	29
3920	clxxxvii. 3.	Augustus makes himself master of Alexandria. Antony and Cleopatra destroy themselves.	723	28
		GALBA		Æra of the incarnation.
		Born. — —		
3947	cxciv. 2.	Otho born. — —	750	
3981	ccii. 4.	Galba appointed consul. ——	784	34
3982	cciii. 1.	The revolt of Vindex.	785	35
4018	ccxi. 4.	Nero killed, and Galba declared emperor.	820	70
		OTHO		
4019	ccxii. 1.	Revolts, and persuades the soldiers to dispatch Galba; upon which he is proclaimed Emperor; and three months after, being defeated by Vitellius, dispatches himself.	821	71

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Agrippa, Menenius, ii. 161.

Agrippa, the friend of Auguſtus, impeaches Caſſius, vi. 76. Wins the battle of Actium, v. 452. Marries Julia, 471.

Agrippina, married to Ænobarbus, by whom ſhe has Nero, and afterwards married to Claudius Caeſar, v. 472. Murdered by Nero, *ibid.*

Aius Loquatius, a temple erected to him by Camillus, i. 362.

Aiantis, one of the Athenian tribes, ii. 439.

Ajax, his mother Periboea, i. 31. His ſon Euryſaces, ii. 100.

Aidoneus king of the Moloſſians, i. 34. Releaſes Theſeus at the requeſt of Hercules, 37.

† *Aipta*, i. 234.

† *Aleaae*, fiſhermen of that place preſent Sylla with ſome fiſh, iii. 249.

Alalcomenius, one of the Boeotian months, ii. 442.

† *Alba*, i. 43, 44.

† *Albanians*, a people near Mount Caucaſus, iv. 157. Defeated by Pompey, who grants them peace, *ibid.* Revolt, and are again defeated by Pompey, 158.

† *Alban* lake overflows its banks, i. 329.

Albinus, a Roman officer, reflected on by Marius, iii. 123. Sylla's lieutenant, killed by the ſoldiers, iii. 220.

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Alcander, his behaviour to Lycurgus, and how puniſhed for it, i. 114.

Alcetas, ſon of Tharrytes, iii. 62. Father of Arybas, *ibid.*

Alcetas refuſes to obey the orders of Perdiccas, iv. 39. Diſputes the command with Eumenes, 44.

Alcibiades, deſcended from Ajax by the father's ſide, and by his mother Dinomache from Alcmaeon, ii. 100. His father Clinias gains honour in the ſea-fight of Artemiſium, and falls in the battle of Coronea, *ibid.* His guardians were Pericles and Ariphron, *ibid.* The attachment of Socrates to him contributes to his fame, *ibid.* His beauty long retains its charm, *ibid.* He has a liſping which is graceful, 101. Particulars of his childhood, *ibid.* His reaſons for not learning to play upon the flute, 102. In ſpite of the blandiſhments of fortune and pleaſure, he cleaves to Socrates, 103. Frolics, in one of which he ſerves a poor man, 104, 105. His behaviour to two ſchool-maſters with reſpect to Homer, 106. What he ſaid of Pericles, as to giving in his accounts, 107. Socrates ſaves him in the battle of Potidæa,

daea, and he returns the favour in that of Delium, *ib.* Gives Hiponnicus, a man reſpectable both for his birth and fortune, a box on the ear, *ib.* Humbles himſelf for his rude frolic, and afterwards marries his daughter Hipparete, who brings him a portion of ten talents, 108. Demands of his brother-in-law Callias, ten talents more on the birth of his firſt child, *ib.* Callias declares him his heir in caſe of his dying without children, *ib.* Hipparete, offended at his diſſolute life, leaves him; but being obliged to preſent in public court a bill of divorce, he ſeizes and carries her off in his arms, *ib.* She dies while Alcibiades is on his voyage to Epheſus, *ib.* The affair of his dog, 109. and of his quail, *ib.* A popular act of his, *ib.* Chuſes to recommend himſelf principally by his eloquence, 110. Excels in that reſpect, *ib.* Famed for his horſes and chariots, *ib.* His victories at the Olympic games, 110, 111. Several cities contribute to hisexpences, 111. He impoſes upon one Diomedes with regard to a chariot, 112. Phaeax and Nicias his chief competitors for the public favour, *ib.* He joins with them, to turn the ban of oſtraciſm upon Hyperbolus, 113. Out of envy to Nicias, breaks the peace which that general had made with the Lacedæmonians, by privately ſtirring up the Argives againſt them, and by impoſing upon the Spartan ambaſſadors, 114, 115, 116. Engages the Mantineans and Eleans, as well as Argives in alliance with Athens, 116. After the battle of Mantinea, an attempt is made towards ariſtocracy in Argos; but Alcibiades ſupports the popular party, 117. He perſuades the people of Argos, and theſe of Patrae too, to join their cities by long walls to the ſea, *ib.* His luxury, profuſion, and effeminacy of dreſs, tarniſh his great qualities, 118. His device upon his ſhield, *ib.* Sallies of his, which the Athenians called good natured, 119. He makes a dreadful ſlaughter among the Melians, *ib.* What Timon the miſanthropiſt ſaid to him, 120. He puts the Athenians upon the Sicilian expedition, and encourages the young men to hope for the conqueſt of Carthage itſelf, 120, 121. The Sicilian war diſapproved by Socrates and Meton, 121. Nicias, Alcibiades, and Lamachus appointed generals, 122. They are inveſted with diſcretionary powers, *ib.* Bad omens intervene, namely, the mournful ceremonies in the feaſt of Adonis, and the defacing of the Hermae, *ib.* Alcibiades is accuſed of defacing the ſtatues, and of a mock celebration of the myſteries of Ceres, 123. His enemies have intereſt and art enough to get his trial put off till after his departure to Sicily, 124. The forces he went out with, *ib.* He takes Catana; after which, he is ſoon recalled to take his trial, 125. Andocides

cides the orator is committed to prison on the same account, and persuaded by Timæus to turn evidence for the sake of his pardon, 126. The Salaminian galley is sent for Alcibiades, 127. He embarks in a vessel of his own, 128. His departure prevents the taking of Messana, *ib.* He arrives at Thurii, and escapes the search that was made after him, *ib.* His answer to one who asked him, whether he would not trust his country, *ib.* He is condemned in his absence, and the priests commanded to denounce execrations against him, 129. He retires to Sparta, *ib.* Persuades the Spartans to send Gylippus to Sicily, to declare war against the Athenians, and to fortify Decelea, *ib.* Conforms himself perfectly to the Spartan manners, 130. His surprising versatility in adopting the customs of all the countries to which he came, *ib.* He corrupts Timaea, the wife of Agis, and she has a son by him, named Leotychidas, 131. The islands join the Lacedæmonians, and Alcibiades brings great part of Ionia to revolt, 131, 132. The Spartans are jealous of his glory, and he retires to the court of Tissaphanes, 132. In what manner he was caressed there, *ib.* He advises that grandee to keep the balance even between the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, 133. Makes private proposals to such of the Athenian nobility as were with the army in Samos, *ib.* Phrynichus and Alcibiades endeavour to counterwork each other, 134. Agreeably to the artful proposal of Alcibiades, an oligarchy, is introduced at Athens, 135. The army in Samos, in resentment of the usurpations of the *four hundred* at home, chuse Alcibiades general, 136. His prudent behaviour saves the commonwealth, *ib.* The *four hundred* are quashed at Athens, 137. Near Abydos, he defeats the Lacedæmonian fleet commanded by Mindarus, 138. Alcibiades goes to wait upon Tisserphanes, and is put under arrest, *ib.* Finds means to make his escape, and joins the Athenians again, 139. Defeats Pharnabazus, kills Mindarus, and takes Cyzicus, 140. Intercepts the letter to the ephori, written on occasion of their loss, *ib.* Encourages Thrasyllus, who had been beaten before Ephesus, and supports him against Pharnabazus, 141. Plunders the province of Pharnabazus, *ib.* Lays siege to Chalcedon, *ib.* Repulses Pharnabazus, who came to its relief, *ib.* Makes himself master of Selybria, 142. The Chalcedonians return to their allegiance to Athens, *ib.* Recovers Byzantium, 143. Returns with great triumph to his native country, and is received by the Athenians with tears of joy, 144, 145. He addresses the people in full assembly, who give him absolute command of their forces by sea and land, 146. The Eumolpidae take off the execrations, *ib.* His arrival falling in with

withthe feaſt of thePlynteria, ſuppoſed inauſpicious, *ibid.* He conducts with an armed force the proceſſion to Eleuſis in the feaſt of Ceres, 147. The Athenians, apprehenſive of his ſetting himſelf up tyrant, ſoon ſend him to ſea again, 148. He defeats the people of Andros, and a party of Lacedæmonians in that iſland, but does not take the city, *ib.* The Athenians are diſpleaſed that he does not do every thing, 149. He goes into Caria to raiſe money, and leaves the fleet in charge with Antiochus, *ib.* Antiochus fights contrary to his orders, and is beaten by Lyſander, 150. Alcibiades afterwards offers Lyſander battle, but he declines it, *ib.* Thraſybulus goes to Athens, to accuſe Alcibiades, *ib.* The Athenians appoint new commanders, *ib.* Alcibiades retires into Thrace, where he had previouſly built a caſtle near Biſanthe, *ib.* He collects ſome foreign troops, makes war upon ſome provinces of Thrace, and defends the Grecian frontier, 150, 151. Finds the new Athenian generals ill-ſtationed at Ægos Potamos, and unmindful of diſcipline, 151. Goes to inform them of their danger, and is treated ill, *ib.* Lyſander deſtroys the Athenian fleet, takes Athens itſelf, and ſets up the thirty tyrants, 152, 153. Alcibiades retires into Bithynia, and from thence to the court of Pharnabazus, of whom he deſires a ſafe conduct to Artaxerxes, *ib.* The Athenians lament their ill-treatment of Alcibiades, 153. Critias, one of the thirty tyrants, exhorts Lyſander to procure the death of Alcibiades; and he receives orders to the ſame purpoſe from Sparta, 153, 154. Lyſander deſires Pharnabazus to take him off, 154. His dream preceding his death, *ib.* The manner of his death, 154, 155. His miſtreſs Timandra, gives him a decent interment, *ib.*

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Alcyoneus carries Pyrrhus's head to his father Antigonus, and is reproved for it, iii. 112. Behaves with ſome propriety to Helenus the ſon of Pyrrhus, *ib.*

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procures a reconciliation between Philip and Alexander, *ib.* Alexander imagines that his father deſigns the crown of Macedon for Aridæus, and therefore endeavours to ſupplant his natural brother in a match that is negotiating for him, *ib.* Philip baniſhes his ſon's counſellors, 235. Pauſanias being abuſed by order of Attalus and Cleopatra, applies to Philip for juſtice, is denied it, and kills him, *ib.* Olympias and Alexander, ſuppoſed accomplices in this murder, *ib.* He endeavours to wipe off that aſperſion, *ib.* The ſtate of Macedon, and its dependencies, at the death of Philip, *ib.* Alexander's council adviſes him to give up Greece, and to treat the revolting barbarians with mildneſs, 236. But, though only twenty years old, he reſolves to proceed with vigour, *ib.* Marches to the banks of the Danube and defeats Syrmus king of the Triballi, *ib.* Marches to chaſtiſe the Thebans and Athenians, *ib.* Makes equitable propoſals to the Thebans at firſt; and, theſe being rejected, he begins the war with great fury, *ib.* Takes Thebes, and levels it with the ground, 237. Sells the inhabitants for ſlaves, a few excepted, *ib.* The injuries done to Timoclea, her revenge, and intrepid behaviour, 237, 238. He forgives the Athenians, 238. Long remembers, with regret his cruelty to the Thebans, *ib.* Is elected captain-general of Greece againſt the Perſians, *ib.* What paſſed between him and Diogenes, 239. He conſults the oracle at Delphi, *ib.* Omen of his ſucceſs, *ib.* The number of troops with which he paſſes into Aſia, 240. The trifling ſum he had provided for their pay, *ib.* He gives away almoſt all the revenues of Macedon, *ib.* Viſits Ilium, ſacrifices to Minerva, and does homage at the tomb of Achilles, *ib.* Fights the battle with the Perſians on the banks of the Granicus, 241. Is in great danger of being ſlain, 242. Saved by Clitus, *ib.* Erects ſtatues to his friends who fell in the battle, 245. Sends preſents to the Greeks, *ib.* Sardis, and other cities, make their ſubmiſſion, *ib.* He takes Halicarnaſſus and Miletus by ſtorm, *ib.* A braſs plate, with a prophecy inſcribed, is thrown up by a ſpring in Lycia, 244. He haſtens to reduce all the coaſt, *ib.* His march by Climax along the ſhore of the Pamphylian ſea, before the receſs of the flood, *ib.* Alexander unties the Gordian knot, 245. Darius marches from Suſa with ſix hundred thouſand men, 246. Darius's dream, and is encouraged by Alexander's long ſtay in Cilicia, *ib.* That ſtay owing to ſickneſs, contracted by his bathing in the river Cydnus, 247. None but Philip the Acarnanian ventures to attempt his cure, *ib.* Parmenio accuſes Phillip of a deſign to poiſon him, *ib.* The ſtrik-

ing ſcene while Alexander takes Philip's medicine, 247. He recovers in three days, 248. Darius neglects the advice of Amyntas, and enters the ſtraits of Cilicia, *ib.* This throws him upon ground that his cavalry cannot act, nor his infantry have any benefit of their numbers, *ib.* Alexander is wounded, but kills a hundred and ten thouſand of the enemy, 249. The mother and wife of Darius, and his two daughters are among the priſoners, 250. Alexander behaves to them with great honour aud humanity, *ib.* Knows no woman before marriage, except Barſine the widow of Memnon, 251. Severely reproves Philoxenus for an infamous propoſal, *ib.* Gives orders for the puniſhment of two Macedonians who had corrupted the wives of ſome of the mercenaries, *ib.* Is temperate in eating and drinking, 252. Reſtores Ada to the throne of Caria, *ib.* How he ſpent his days of leiſure, 253. In what manner his entertainments were conducted, *ib.* Vain, and very capable of being flattered, *ib.* Seizes the Perſian money and equipages at Damaſcus, 254. The kings of Cyprus and Phœnicia make their ſubmiſſion; only Tyre holds out, *ib.* He beſieges that city ſeven months, *ib.* Preſages of his ſucceſs, 254, 255. Makes an excurſion againſt the Arabians of Antilibanus, and is brought into great danger through the indiſcretion of his preceptor Lyſimachus, 255. Tyre taken, 256. Gaza taken, *ib.* He ſends part of the ſpoils to Olympias and Cleopatra, 257. Sends five hundred talents weight of frankincenſe to his late governor Leonidas, *ib.* Puts Homer's Iliad in a valuable caſket, which had belonged to Darius, *ib.* Fixes upon the happy ſituation of Alexandria, in conſequence of an intimation from Homer in a dream, 258. Its figure, 259. Omen of its being a commercial place, *ib.* He viſits the temple of Jupiter Ammon, *ib.* The dangers attending that journey, overcome by Alexander's ſuperior good fortune, *ib.* A flock of crows conducts him on his way, 260. Ammon ſalutes him as his ſon; informs him that the death of Philip is ſufficiently avenged; and promiſes him the conqueſt of the world, *ib.* Goes to hear Pſammo, an Egyptian philoſopher, 261. His pretenſions to divinity, how conducted, *ib.* 262. At his return from Egypt to Phœnicia, he celebrates games in honour of the gods, *ib.* Athenodorus bears away the prize in tragedy, 263. Darius propoſes conditions of peace to Alexander; but Alexander inſiſts on his abſolute ſubmiſſion, *ib.* The wife of Darius dies; and Alexander, though on his march, returns, and buries her with great magnificence, 263, 264. Tircus, one of Darius's eunuchs, flies to his maſter, with the news,

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Antiorus, the ſon of Lycurgus, i. 146.

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Antipater, ſon of Caſſander, kills his mother Theſſalonica, and expels his brother Alexander, iii. 67.

Antipater of Tarſus, iii. 170. His lectures in philoſophy, to whom dedicated, v. 192.

Antipater of Tyre, the ſtoic philoſopher, teaches Cato the Younger the ſtoic philoſophy, v. 49.

Antiphanes, v. 246.

Antiphates, a favourite of Themiſtocles, i. 305.

Antiphilus, an Athenian general, v. 27. 29.

Antipho, the Rhamnuſian, iii. 378.

378. Accuſed by Demoſthenes, and condemned, v. 251.

Antipho, his invective againſt Alcibiades, ii. 102.

Antiquity, fabulous, i. 2.

Antiſenatorian band, an abandoned ſet of men, a kind of guards to Sulpitius, iii. 155.

Antiſthenes, a ſaying of his concerning the Thebans, i. 145. Another concerning Iſmenias, ii. 2.

Antiſtia, married to Pompey, iv. 121. Divorced, 125.

Antiſtia, wife of Appius Claudius, and mother of Claudia, v. 187.

Antiſtius, the prætor, iv. 121. gives his daughter to Pompey, *ib.* Loſes his life in eſpouſing his intereſt, 125.

Antiſtius Veter, prætor in Spain, iv. 330.

Antiſtius, an officer of the navy, his ſervices to Brutus, vi. 73, 74.

Antonia, daughter of Mark Antony by Octavia, married to Druſus, v. 472.

Antonias, Cleopatra's admiral galley ſo called, v. 447.

Antonius, Lucius, rebels againſt Domitian, ii. 289.

Antonius, Caius, conſul with Cicero, v. 283. Marches againſt Catiline, 289. Defeats and kills him, 296. Father of Mark Antony's firſt wife, 398.

Antonius, Publius, Cæſar accuſes him, iv. 328.

Antonius, Caius, brother of Mark Antony, defeated by Cicero's ſon, vi. 75. Surrendered to Brutus, and kept cloſe priſoner, *ib.* Put to death after the proſcription of Cicero and Brutus Albinus, 76.

Antonius Creticus, father to Mark Antony, his character, v. 390.

Antonius Honoratus, vi. 210.

Antony, Mark, the orator, diſcovered by the ſimplicity of a ſervant, iii. 167. Marius ſends a party to diſpatch him, 168. His eloquence diſarms the ſoldiers, *ib.* Killed by Annius, *ib.*

Antony, Mark, grandſon of Mark Antony the orator, and ſon of Antonius Creticus, v. 390. His mother Julia has Cornelius Lentulus for her ſecond huſband, and Antony is educated under her auſpices, 390, 391. He conceives a ſtrong reſentment againſt Cicero, for his putting Lentulus to death, 391. Engaging in his perſon, but unfortunate in his connexions, *ib.* Forms a friendſhip firſt with Curio, and afterwards with Clodius, perſons of the moſt profligate character, *ib.* Runs deeply in debt, *ib.* During the troubles which Clodius had brought upon the ſtate, retires into Greece, *ib.* Employs himſelf there in military exerciſes and the ſtudy of eloquence, *ib.* Adopts the Aſiatic ſtile, *ib.* Goes with Gabinus into Syria, with a command of cavalry, 391, 392. In beſieging Ariſtobolus, he is the firſt to ſcale the wall, 392. Takes Ariſtobulus and his ſon priſoners, *ib.* Gabinius and he reſtore Ptolemy to his kingdom, *ib.* Antony prevents Pto-

Ptolemy from putting the citizens of Peluſium to death, 392. His humane care of the body of Archelaus, 393. His perſon deſcribed, *ib.* His free manner engaging to the ſoldiers, *ib.* His great liberality, 394. Through Curio's means is elected tribune of the people, and is very ſerviceable to Cæſar againſt Pompey, *ib.* After ſome equitable propoſals in behalf of Cæſar to the ſenate, he is commanded by Lentulus the conſul to leave the houſe, 395. Diſguiſes himſelf like a ſervant, and goes immediately to Cæſar, *ib.* Upon this Cæſar enters Italy, *ib.* who leaves the command of the army in Italy to Antony, during his expedition to Spain, and at his return connives at his irregularities, 396. Cæſar, having paſſed the Ionian ſea with a ſmall number of troops, ſends back his ſhips for more forces, *ib.* Antony beats off Libo, and carries a conſiderable reinforcement to Cæſar, 397. Antony diſtinguiſhes himſelf in every engagement, *ib.* Has the command of Cæſar's left wing in the battle of Pharſalia, *ib.* When Cæſar is appointed dictator, and goes upon the purſuit of Pompey, he ſends Antony to Rome in character of the general of the horſe, *ib.* Dolabella, one of the tribunes, propoſes a decree for aboliſhing debts, 398. Antony ſuſpects him of a criminal commerce with his wife, and oppoſes him, not only by advice of the ſenate, but from perſonal reſentment, 398. He diſmiſſes his wife, who was the daughter of Caius Antonius, *ib.* All ſober people are offended at his exceſſive irregularities, *ib.* Cæſar, to ſhew his diſlike of theſe proceedings, takes Lepidus, and not Antony, for his colleague in the conſulſhip, 399. Cæſar orders him to pay for Pompey's houſe, which he had. He marries Fulvia, the widow of Clodius, a woman of a moſt ambitious ſpirit, *ib.* Cæſar, at his return from Spain, takes Antony for his colleague, 400. Is inclined to ſubſtitute Dolabella in his own room; but Antony, as augur, pretends that the omens are againſt it, *ib.* Antony, in the feaſt of the Lupercalia, attempts to put a diadem on the head of Cæſar, who was ſeated in a triumphal robe on the roſtrum, 401. Cæſar ſeems to decline it, and is applauded by the people, who can bear every thing of ſovereignty except the title of king, *ib.* The diadem is put upon one of Cæſar's ſtatues, but two of the tribunes take it off, *ib.* Cæſar turns thoſe tribunes out of office, *ib.* This circumſtance encourages Brutus and Caſſius in the conſpiracy, *ib.* Some propoſe that Antony ſhould be taken off with Cæſar, but Brutus objects, 402. Antony is amuſed without, while Cæſar is diſpatched in the ſenate-houſe, *ib.* He abſconds in the habit of a ſlave, *ib.* Sends his ſon to the conſpirators in the capitol, as an hoſtage, *ib.*

Propoſes an act of amneſty to the ſenate, 402. Ambition draws him from theſe moderate councils, *ib.* In making Cæſar's funeral oration, he exaſperates the people againſt the conſpirators, 403. Brutus and his party leave the city, and Cæſar's friends join Antony, *ib.* Calphurnia, Cæſar's relict, entruſts him with her treaſure, *ib.* The advantage Antony makes of Cæſar's papers, *ib.* Octavius, the relation and heir of Cæſar, arrives at Rome from Apollonia, 404. As Cæſar's executor, he applies to Antony for the effects, and is refuſed, *ib.* Joins Cicero, and the reſt of Antony's enemies, obtains an intereſt in the ſenate, and aſſembles Cæſar's veterans, *ib.* An accommodation between Octavius and Antony takes place, but is ſoon deſtroyed, *ib.* They both prepare for war, *ib.* Cicero perſuades the ſenate to declare Antony a public enemy, and to commiſſion Hirtius and Panſa to drive him out of Italy, 405. The conſuls are ſlain near Modena, but Antony is defeated, *ib.* Antony and his troops are diſtreſſed by famine, *ib.* He is a pattern of fortitude, *ib.* Paſſes the Alps, and draws over the troops of Lepidus, but attempts nothing againſt his life or honour, 406. Munatius Plancus joins him, *ib.* He leaves a ſufficient force in Gaul, and returns to Italy with a great army, *ib.* Octavius finds Cicero reſolved to reſtore the commonwealth, abandons him, and comes to an accommodation with Antony, 406. They and Lepidus meet in a little river-iſland, and divide the empire of the world amongſt them, *ib.* They proſcribe no fewer than three hundred Romans, 407. Antony gives up his uncle Lucius Cæſar, and Octavius ſacrifices Cicero, *ib.* Octavius agrees to marry Claudia, the daughter of Fulvia, *ib.* Antony orders Cicero's head, and the hand with which he had written the Philippics, to be placed on the *roſtra*, *ib.* The mother of Antony ſaves Lucius Cæſar, *ib.* The triumvirate is extremely oppreſſive, 408. Antony diſgraces Pompey's houſe with the vileſt exceſſes, *ib.* Octavius inſiſts on a diviſion of the treaſure and the army, *ib.* They go againſt Brutus and Caſſius, and leave Lepidus governor of Rome, *ib.* Octavius is defeated by Brutus in the firſt engagement, and eſcapes by flight, 409. Caſſius is defeated by Antony, and puts an end to his life, *ib.* Brutus is beaten in a ſecond battle, and ſlays himſelf, *ib.* The honour of this victory, too, falls to Antony, *ib.* Antony ſlays Hortenſius on the tomb of his brother Caius, *ib.* Throws a purple robe over the body of Brutus, and orders him an honourable funeral, *ib.* Cæſar is conveyed to Rome, ſick, *ib.* Antony raiſes contributions in Aſia, having promiſed five thouſand drachmas to each private man, *ib.* Returns

to Greece, where his behaviour at firſt is very acceptable, 409, 410. Paſſes again into Aſia, where he lives in the moſt luxurious manner, 410. Is celebrated at Epheſus in the character of Bacchus, *ib.* Diſgraces his jollity and freedom with the moſt ſavage cruelty and extortion, 411. His real character more developed, *ib.* Cleopatra comes into Cilicia, to anſwer a charge laid againſt her, and the flexible Antony falls into her ſnares, 412. She ſails along the Cydnus in the character of Venus, 413. Their mutual invitations, *ib.* Her addreſs and verſatility, *ib.* She ſings admirably, and ſpeaks moſt languages, 414. While Fulvia is ſupporting the intereſts of Antony in Rome, he is revelling with Cleopatra at Alexandria, *ib.* Antony's ſon makes a magnificent preſent to Philotas the phyſician, 415. Cleopatra attends him in his night rambles in the habit of a ſlave, 416. His fiſhing ſtory, *ib.* He receives diſagreeable news from different quarters: Fulvia, and his brother Lucius, after they had oppoſed Cæſar ſome time, are obliged to quit Italy; the Parthians reduce great part of Aſia, 417. He awakes from his intoxication, marches to Phœnicia, and from thence ſails towards Italy, *ib.* Fulvia dies at Sicyon, *ib.* This event opens a way for reconciliation between him and Cæſar, *ib.* The triumvirate ſettle their reſpective claims and powers, 417.—Cæſar gives his ſiſter Octavia to Antony in marriage, 418. Sextus, the ſon of Pompey, having gained a conſiderable maritime power, is allowed to keep Sicily and Sardinia, *ib.* Sextus has an opportunity to deſtroy Antony and Cæſar at an entertainment on board his galley, but forbears it, 419. Antony ſends Ventidius into Aſia againſt the Parthians, *ib.* Takes upon himſelf the office of high-prieſt to Cæſar the dictator, *ib.* The ſtar of Octavius's fortune ſuperior to that of Antony, *ib.* Antony leaves Italy, and takes Octavia with him into Greece, 420. Celebrates Gymnaſtic games at Athens, on news that Ventidius was ſucceſsful againſt the Parthians, *ib.* Ventidius engages Pacorus, ſon of the king of Parthia, in Syria, and kills him, *ib.* He brings Antiochus, the ſon of Commagene, to terms, *ib.* Goes to Rome, and triumphs over the Parthians, 421. Antony, as well as Octavius, more ſucceſsful by their lieutenants, than where they acted in perſon, *ib.* Upon ſome diſagreeable news concerning Cæſar's deſigns, Antony ſails with three hundred ſhips for Italy, *ib.* Octavia interpoſes, and reconciles them, 422. Cæſar goes to war with Pompey for the recovery of Sicily; and Antony, leaving his wife and children in the care of Cæſar, ſets out for Aſia, *ib.* On his arrival there, he ſends for Cleopatra, *ib.* He gives her ſeveral conſiderable

conſiderable provinces, 423. Gives the ſurnames of the ſun and moon to the twins he had by Cleopatra, *ib.* Phraates ſlays his father Orodes; upon which many of the Parthian chiefs fly to Antony, 424. He gives Moneſes three cities, *ib.* Reviews his army in Armenia, which conſiſts of a hundred thouſand men, *ib.* His attachment to Cleopatra precipitates his meaſures, *ib.* He lays ſiege to Phraata without his battering engines, 425. Phraates falls upon Statianus, who was conducting the engines, kills ten thouſand of his men, and deſtroys the engines, *ib.* Artavaſdes, king of Armenia, withdraws in deſpair, *ib.* Antony attempts to bring the Parthians to a pitched battle, but does not ſucceed, 426. The Parthians gall the Romans in their return to their camp, 427. Antony finds that his troops had fled in his abſence from before Phraata, and puniſhes them with decimation, *ib.* Phraates pretends to come to terms with Antony, but intends all the time to harraſs him in his retreat, 427, 428. Antony deſigns to take his route through an open country, but is adviſed, by a certain Mardian, to take the ſafer road of the mountains, 428. The Parthians make their appearance the third day, and attack the Romans, 429. Antony, after this, marches in ſo judicious a form, that the enemy can make little impreſſion, and think of retiring, *ib.* Flavius Gallus propoſes to perform ſome conſiderable exploit with a ſelect party; but drawing too far from the main body, is ſurrounded, 429, 430. Sends for ſuccours, which are injudiciouſly ſent in ſmall detachments, 430. Antony himſelf, at laſt, beats the enemy off, *ib.* The Romans, in this action, have three thouſand ſlain, and five thouſand wounded, *ib.* The great affection of the troops for Antony, 430, 431. His addreſs to the army on that occaſion, concluded with a prayer, that if the gods had ſome ill fortune in reſerve, it might fall upon him, and not upon his men, 431. The Romans, when attacked again, aſſume the form of a pent-houſe, 432. Famine prevails among them, *ib.* They eat an herb which brings on madneſs and death, *ib.* Antony often cries out, O the ten thouſand! 433. Mithridates, couſin to Moneſes, comes in the night, and warns Antony not to deſcend into the plain, *ib.* The Parthians, contrary to cuſtom, purſue him in the night, 434. The Romans have to contend with thirſt, and with the Parthians, at the ſame time, *ib.* They come up to a river, whoſe water is acrimonious, and drink of it too freely, 435. The Mardian acquaints them that there is another river at no great diſtance, whoſe water is ſweet and ſalubrious, *ib.* Mithridates comes again, and adviſes the Romans to haſten

haſten to that river; becauſe it would terminate the purſuit, 435. Antony accordingly moves on; but a ſtrange diſorder happens in his army, and his tent is plundered, *ib.* The Romans paſs the laſt mentioned river in peace, 436. Six days after this, they reach the Araxes, and when they have paſſed it, kiſs the ground in Armenia with great avidity, 437. The new plenty throws them into the dropſy and the cholic, *ib.* They were twenty-ſeven days in their return from Phraatæ, and had beaten the Parthians in eighteen engagements; but none of them were deciſive, becauſe Artavaſdes had made off with the Armenian horſe, *ib.* Antony does not chaſtiſe the Armenian at preſent, but ſeizes him afterwards, and leads him in triumph into Alexandria, 437, 438. Antony, who had loſt twenty thouſand men already in his retreat, loſes eight thouſand more, through the ſeverity of the weather, in the remainder of his march, 438. Waits for Cleopatra at a fort between Berytus and Sidon, *ib.* The Parthians and the Medes quarrel about the Roman ſpoils, and the Mede offers his aſſiſtance to Antony, *ib.* Octavia expreſſes a deſire to viſit Antony, and Cæſar gives her his leave, in hopes that ſome event would lead to a quarrel, 439. She is commanded by Antony to ſtop at Athens, but ſends, however, Niger to him, with an account of the many valuable preſents ſhe had brought him, 439. Cleopatra affects to be dying for the love of Antony, *ib.* He returns to Egypt, and puts off the Mede till ſummer, 440. Betroths one of Cleopatra's ſons to a daughter of the Mede, *ib.* Cæſar appears to be, and indeed the Romans in general are, offended at his neglect of Octavia, and his diſpoſing of kingdoms in favour of the children of Cleopatra, 440, 441. Cæſar accuſes him in the ſenate, 441. Antony recriminates, *ib.* Cæſar replies, 442. Antony ſends Canidius to the ſea-coaſt with ſixteen legions, *ib.* Goes to Epheſus, attended by Cleopatra, *ib.* Aſſembles a fleet of eight hundred ſhips, two hundred of which were ſupplied by Cleopatra, *ib.* Cleopatra, jealous of the mediation of Octavia, bribes Canidius to perſuade Antony to permit her to attend him in the war, *ib.* They ſpend their time in all manner of revelry at Samos, 443. Viſit Athens, where Cleopatra endeavours to ſurpaſs Octavia in her favours to the people, *ib.* He ſends ſome of his people to turn Octavia out of his houſe at Rome, *ib.* Antony, inſtead of attacking Cæſar immediately, gives him time to prepare himſelf, 444. Titius and Plancus are ill uſed by Cleopatra, for oppoſing her ſtay in the army, and they go over to Cæſar, *ib.* Cæſar takes Antony's will from the veſtals, and reads it to the ſenate, *ib.*

Antony's friends, and Geminius in particular, point out to him his true intereſt, but they are driven away by the creatures of Cleopatra, 445, 446. Cæſar declares war againſt Cleopatra, *ib.* Prodigies announcing the event of the war, *ib.* An account of their reſpective forces, 447. Antony, notwithſtanding his ſtrength at land, is perſuaded by Cleopatra to decide the diſpute at ſea, *ib.* Circumſtances previous to the battle of Actium, 448. Domitius, Amyntas, and Deiotarus, go over to Cæſar, 449. Canidius gives Antony ſalutary counſel; but the faſcinations of Cleopatra prevent his liſtening to it, *ib.* An old ſoldier remonſtrates againſt a ſea-fight, 450. Cæſar has omens of victory, 451. The battle deſcribed, 451, 452. Cleopatra flies, before the battle is loſt, and Antony is infatuated enough to follow her, 452. He enters Cleopatra's galley, and ſits three days in ſombrous ſilence, 453. Has intelligence that his army is ſafe in Macedonia, but, inſtead of going to it, ſends orders to Canidius to conduct it into Aſia, *ib.* Divides a ſhip-load of treaſure amongſt his friends, and diſmiſſes them, 454. The gallant reſiſtance which his fleet made after he deſerted it, *ib.* His land-forces remain embodied ſeven days, and do not ſurrender to Cæſar, till their officers deſert them, *ib.* Cæſar relieves the cities of Greece, which had been much oppreſſed, *ib.* Antony lands in Libya, and ſends Cleopatra from Prætonium into Egypt, 455. Retires into a melancholy deſart, with only two attendants, *ib.* The commander of his troops in Libya revolts,—he attempts to kill himſelf, *ib.* Is prevented by his friends, and conveyed to Alexandria, *ib.* Finds Cleopatra engaged in an attempt to draw her ſhips over the Iſthmus into the red-ſea, and with all her wealth and forces to ſeek ſome remote country, *ib.* But the firſt gallies that are carried over, are burnt by the Arabians of Petra, 456. Antony takes to a kind of Timonian retirement near Pharos, *ib.* After he is informed that his army, and all his allies had deſerted him, he abandons his hopes and his cares together, and returns to Alexandria, 457. Cleopatra and he form the ſociety of "*the companions in death*," as they had before inſtituted that of the "*inimitable livers*," *ib.* They paſs their time in mutual treats and diverſions, *ib.* Cleopatra makes experiment of ſeveral poiſons, and gives the preference to the aſp, 458. They ſend Euphronius, their childrens tutor, on an embaſſy to Cæſar, *ib.* Cæſar encourages Cleopatra to hope every thing, provided that ſhe gave up Antony, and amuſes her with a pretence of love, 458, 459. Antony cauſes Thyreus, Cæſar's freedman, to be whipped,

459. Cleopatra redoubles her attentions to Antony, *ib.* Cæſar renews the war, takes Peluſium, and advances to Alexandria, 460. Is apprehenſive that Cleopatra will deſtroy her treaſures, and ſends meſſengers to her continually, *ib.* Antony makes a briſk ſally, and repulſes the enemy, *ib.* Sends a challenge to Cæſar, which is as much diſregarded as one that he had ſent formerly, *ib.* A noiſe of departing Bacchanals preſage the fate of Antony, 461. Antony deſigns to attack Cæſar both by ſea and land; but the fleet and cavalry deſert him, *ibid.* His infantry are routed, and he exclaims that Cleopatra has betrayed him, *ib.* The queen retires to her monument, and orders that Antony ſhould be informed ſhe is dead, 462. He commands his ſervant Eros to diſpatch him, but Eros diſpatches himſelf, *ib.* Plunges his ſword into his bowels, but the ſtroke does not prove mortal, *ib.* Cleopatra ſends for him, and ſhe and her women draw him up into the monument, 462, 463. Their affecting meeting, 463. Antony dies, *ib.* Proculeius is ſent to her by Cæſar, and ſhe makes a requiſition of the kingdom for her children, 464. Proculeius forms a ſcheme to get into the monument, and ſucceeds, *ib.* Cleopatra attempts to ſtab herſelf, but is prevented, 465. Cæſar's entry into Alexandria, *ib.* Antyllus, ſon of Antony by Fulvia, is put to death, 466. Theodorus, who betrayed him, is crucified for theft, *ib.* Cæſario is likewiſe betrayed by his governor, and afterwards put to death, *ib.* Cleopatra is permitted to bury Antony, which ſhe does in a magnificent manner, *ib.* She reſolves to ſtarve herſelf, but is prevented, *ib.* Cæſar pays her a viſit, 467. She puts an inventory of her goods in his hands, 468. Dolabella informs her, that ſhe is to be ſent away with her children, 468. Her laſt oblations and ſpeech at Antony's tomb, 469. A peaſant brings her an aſp in a baſket of figs, *ib.* She dies, 470. The deſcendants of Antony come to be emperors, 472.

Antonius Lucius, brother of Antony, created Tribune, v. 403.

Antony, ſon of Antony by Fulvia, v. 471.

Antony, the firſt who lays violent hands on Sertorius, iv. 32.

Antyllius, the lictor, killed in the capitol, v. 222.

Antyllus, ſon of Antony by Fulvia, v. 457. Is put to death, 466.

Anytus, ſon of Anthemion, Alcibiades's frolic at his houſe, ii. 104. The firſt that bribed the judges at Athens, 171.

Aollius. See Abilius.

Apama, daughter of Artaxerxes, married to Pharnabazus, vi. 136.

Apama, daughter of Artabazus, iv. 35.

Apama, wife of Seleucus, v. 364.

Apelles, draws Alexander's picture, iv. 226. Does not ſucceed as to his complexion, *ib.* Surpriſed at Protogenes's painting, v. 354. Enters

himſelf of the ſchool of Sicyon, vi. 153.
Apelles, in the court of the younger Philip of Macedon, vi. 190.
Apellicon, the Teian, his library carried by Sylla to Rome, iii. 248.
Apemantus; what he ſaid to Timon, and Timon's anſwer, v. 456.
† *Aperantians* and *Athamanians*, iii. 47.
Aphepſion, Archon at Athens, iii. 283.
† *Aphidnæ*, Theſeus ſends Helen thither, i. 34. Taken by Caſtor and Pollux, 36.
Aphidnus, a friend of Theſeus's, i. 34.
† *Aphytis*, a city of Thrace, iii. 196.
Apis, the ox worſhipped by the Ægyptians, v. 177.
Apolia, daughter of Ageſilaus, by Cleora, iv. 88.
Apollo Delphinius, i. 12.
Apollo, the laurelled, i. 303.
Apollo Iſmenius, iii. 209.
Apollo Lyceus, iii. 107.
Apollo Pythius, iii. 237.
Apollo Tegyræus, ii. 332.
Apollo Thurius, iii. 237.
Apollo, his temples plundered by pirates, iv. 143.
Apollo, the name of one of Lucullus's dining-rooms, iii. 360.
Apollocrates, the eldeſt ſon of Dionyſius, vi. 33. Surrenders the caſtle of Syracuſe to Dion, and goes off to his father, 44.
Apollodorus, the hiſtorian, i. 98.
Apollodorus, governor of Babylon, iv. 319.
Apollodorus, the Phalerean, an extravagant admirer of Socrates, v. 91.
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Brutus, Marcus, his great anceſtor was Junius Brutus, who expelled the Tarquins, vi. 52. Happily formed to virtue by nature, and has all the advantages of cultivation, *ib.* His mother Servilla was deſcended from Servilius Ahala, who ſtabbed Spurius Melius, for aſpiring to the monarchy, and ſiſter to Cato the philoſopher, 52, 53. He marries Porcia the daughter of Cato, 53. Acquainted with the doctrines of all the philoſophers; but the Platoniſts and ancient academy ſtood higheſt in his eſteem, *ib.* Antiochus of Aſcalon his favourite; whoſe brother Ariſton he entertained in his own houſe, *ib.* Empylus, the orator, alſo lived with Brutus, *ib.* Brutus ſpeaks with great ability in Latin, both in the field, and at the bar, 54. In Greek he affects the laconic way, *ib.* Inſtances of that laconic turn in his epiſtles, *ib.* Accompanies Cato to Cyprus in his expedition againſt Ptolemy, *ib.* Diſpoſes of that prince's effects, and carries the treaſure to Rome, *ib.* Out of principle, joins Pompey againſt Cæſar, though Pompey had put his father to death, 55. Acts ſome time as lieutenant to Seſtius, who was governor of Sicily, but goes volunteer to Macedonia, before the battle of Pharſalia, *ib.* Employs the hours that he could ſpare from the duties of the camp, in literary attentions, *ib.* Cæſar had a high eſteem for him, having ſome reaſon to believe that he was his ſon, 55, 56. After the battle of Pharſalia, Brutus eſcapes to Lariſſa, and from thence writes to Cæſar, who ſends for him, and entertains him amongſt his friends, 56. He reconciles Cæſar to his friend Caſſius, 57. Some account of the character of Brutus, *ib.* Cæſar, previouſly to his expedition into Africa, appoints him governor of Ciſalpine Gaul, *ib.* Diſſenſion between Brutus and Caſſius, though Caſſius had married his ſiſter Junia, 58. Brutus gains

gains a more honourable prætorſhip than Caſſius, *ib.* Caſſius is offended, and repreſents Cæſar to Brutus as a tyrant, *ib.* Cæſar has his ſuſpicions, yet truſts to the honour of Brutus, *ib.* Sayings of Cæſar concerning him, 58, 59. Brutus hated the imperial power, and Caſſius hated the emperor, 59. Brutus is animated to take off Cæſar, by private intimations and anonymous letters, 60. Caſſius informs Brutus, that the friends of Cæſar intended to move that he ſhould be declared king, 61. What Brutus ſaid upon it, *ib.* He viſits Q. Ligarius, who offers to join in the deſign againſt Cæſar, *ib.* They take in others of their friends, but except Cicero, on account of his timidity, *ib.* The great ſecrecy with which the deſign was conducted, 62. Brutus becomes penſive and full of anxiety, *ib.* The greatneſs of Porcia's conduct on that occaſion, 63. Her addreſs to Brutus, *ib.* The ſenate aſſemble on the ides of March in Pompey's baſilica, the day that Brutus and his aſſociates had pitched upon for the execution of their purpoſe, 64. He takes a dagger with him; a circumſtance known only to his wife, *ib.* The great firmneſs of the conſpirators on that occaſion, *ib.* Cæſar delays his coming, 65. Ambiguous expreſſions to ſome of the friends of liberty, which make them think their ſecret is diſcovered, *ib.* The agonies of Porcia, *ib.* Popilius Læna addreſſes Cæſar, and the conſpirators are afraid that he is opening their deſign, 66. The conſpirators get cloſe about Cæſar's chair, under pretence of preſenting a ſuit to him, *ib.* The proceſs of their great undertaking, 66, 67. Cæſar is ſlain, 67. Brutus, in attempting to have his ſhare in the ſacrifice, is wounded in the hand, *ib.* Propoſes to make a ſpeech, but the ſenators fly, *ib.* Prevents the taking off Mark Antony, contrary to the opinion of his aſſociates, *ib.* He and his party betake themſelves to the capitol, *ib.* They proclaim liberty to the people as they paſs, *ib.* After the firſt alarm is over, the ſenators and the people go in a body to the conſpirators in the capitol, 68. Brutus's ſpeech is well received, and he and his party come down into the forum, *ib.* Brutus is heard there with reverence; but Cinna attempting to accuſe Cæſar, is loaded with the moſt opprobrious language, *ib.* The conſpirators retire once more into the capitol, *ib.* The ſenate aſſemble the day following, and an amneſty is decreed, *ib.* Antony ſends his ſon to the capitol as an hoſtage, *ib.* Brutus and his aſſociates come down, and there is an appearance of a general reconciliation, *ib.* Antony has the thanks of the ſenate for preventing a civil war, and the principal of the conſpirators have provinces aſ-

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ſigned them, 69. Brutus commits a ſecond and greater error, in permitting Antony to publiſh Cæſar's will, and to give him a public funeral, *ib.* The people ſnatch brands from the pile, and run to fire the houſes of the conſpirators, *ib.* Cinna the poet is miſtaken for Cinna the conſpirator, and torn in pieces by the mob, 70. Brutus and his party retire to Antium; but the ſhows with which he was to entertain the people, as prætor, are exhibited with great magnificence, 70, 71. Octavius comes to Rome, aſſumes the name of Cæſar, and greatly ingratiates himſelf with the people by paying them the money that was left them by his uncle, as well as recommends himſelf to Cæſar's veterans by his liberality, 71. Cicero joins him, *ib.* Brutus's ſpirited letters to Cicero on that junction, *ib.* Brutus reſolves to leave Italy, 72. The affecting circumſtances of Porcia's parting with him at Elea, *ib.* He ſails from Elea to Athens, 73. He attends the lectures of the philoſophers there; but privately prepares for war, *ib.* Sends Heroſtratus into Macedonia, while he ſecures the young Romans that were in Athens, and amongſt the reſt the ſon of Cicero, *ib.* Goes to Caryſtus, a city of Eubœa, where a friend of his was arrived from Aſia with ſome ſhips laden with money, *ib.* Lets fall an ominous expreſſion at an entertainment on his birth-day, *ib.* Antiſtius gives him five hundred thouſand drachmas of the money he was carrying to Italy, 74. He collects forces, *ib.* At Demetrius, ſeizes the arms which Julius Cæſar intended for the Parthian war, *ib.* Macedonia is delivered up to him by Hortenſius the prætor, *ib.* He makes a forced march to Dyrrachium, in order to reach it before Caius, the brother of Mark Antony, and is ſeized with the diſorder called Bulimia, *ibid.* Makes himſelf maſter of Dyrrachium, Apollonia, and Buthrotus, and the troops that held thoſe cities, 75. Takes Caius, the brother of Antony, priſoner, *ib.* Young Cæſar drives Antony out of Italy, ſolicits the conſulſhip at an improper age, and keeps an unneceſſary army in pay, 76, Cæſar finding the ſenate inclined to favour Brutus, reconciles himſelf to Antony, and obtains the conſulſhip by force, *ib.* He is no ſooner conſul than he orders a proceſs againſt Brutus and his accomplices for murdering the firſt magiſtrate of Rome, *ib.* The triumvirate divide the provinces amongſt them, and ſettle a liſt of two hundred proſcriptions, *ib.* Brutus and Caſſius meet at Smyrna, 77. Their forces very reſpectable, *ib.* Their different diſpoſitions and views, 77, 78. Brutus deſires Caſſius to let him have part of his treaſure, and with much difficulty obtains a third, 79. Caſſius behaves with great ſeverity

ſeverity on the taking of Rhodes, *ib.* The Lycians oppoſe Brutus, and he lays ſiege to the city of Xanthus, *ib.* His operations againſt the Xanthians, and the paſſionate deſire that people had of death, 79, 80. Brutus weeps at the affecting circumſtances in which a Xanthian woman was found, 80. Proclaims a reward to any ſoldier who could ſave a Xanthian, *ib.* Brings the Patareans and others to ſurrender, by diſmiſſing ſome women without ranſom, and other inſtances of juſtice and moderation, 81. Raiſes only a hundred and fifty talents in Lycia, while Caſſius amaſſes eight thouſand at Rhodes, *ib.* Theodorus, who adviſed the murder of Pompey the Great, falls into the hands of Brutus, and is put to death, 82. Brutus and Caſſius meet at Sardis, and fall into debates and mutual accuſations, *ib.* Favonius puts an end to thoſe diſputes by an act of cynical freedom, *ib.* Caſſius blames Brutus for diſgracing Lucius Pella, on account of his embezzling the public money, and Brutus puts him in mind of the ides of March, 83. A little before they left Aſia, Brutus has an extraordinary apparition, 84. Caſſius, who was an Epicurean, diſputes the reality of apparitions, 85. Omen of their defeat at Philippi, *ib.* Brutus comes upon Norbanus near Symbolum, and muſt have deſtroyed his whole army, had not Antony with incredible celerity marched to his relief, *ib.* Cæſar, who had been kept behind by ſickneſs, joins Antony, 86. Circumſtances previous to the battle of Philippi, *ib.* Caſſius inclined to protract the war, but over-ruled by Brutus, 87. Caſſius aſks Brutus, what his reſolution is concerning flight and death, 88. Brutus's anſwer, *ib.* The battle deſcribed, 89, 90. Brutus is victorious in the right wing, and Caſſius defeated in the left, 90. The want of their knowing in time the circumſtances of each other, proves the ruin of both, *ib.* Caſſius, in conſequence of an unfortunate miſtake, orders his freedman Pindarus to diſpatch him, 91, 92. Brutus laments over Caſſius, and calls him the laſt of Romans, 92. Encourages Caſſius's troops, *ib.* The enemy's loſs greatly exceeds his, *ib.* Demetrius, a ſervant of Caſſius, goes over to Antony, with his maſter's robe and ſword, 93. The reaſon why Brutus reſolves to avoid another battle, *ib.* A blemiſh in the character of Brutus, that he promiſes his troops, in caſe of victory, the plunder of the cities of Lacedæmon and Theſſalonica, 94. The affairs of Cæſar and Antony in an indifferent poſture, 95. An unfortunate circumſtance to Brutus, that he does not get intelligence of the victory gained by his fleet, *ib.* The ſpectre appears to him again, 96. Omens announce his fall, *ib.* Brutus routs

routs the enemy's left wing; but his own left wing, at the ſame time, is defeated, and he is ſurrounded, *ib.* The valour and glorious death of Marcus the ſon of Cato, 97. Lucilius paſſes himſelf for Brutus, and is taken priſoner, *ib.* Brutus, attended by a few of his officers and friends, ſtops under the cavity of a large rock, 98. Appeals to Heaven, 99. Sighs deeply at the mention of Flavius and Labeo, *ib.* Statilius undertakes to make his way through the enemy, to ſee whether the camp of Brutus was ſafe, *ib.* Holds up a torch, being the ſignal he had promiſed, but was ſlain in his return, *ib.* Brutus deſires ſeveral of his friends to aſſiſt in diſpatching him, and is refuſed, 99, 100. His laſt addreſs to his friends, 100. He falls upon his ſword, *ib.* His friends behave with great honour, *ib.* His wife Porcia, being prevented from any other kind of death, puts burning coals into her mouth, and dies, 101. He receives an honourable interment from his enemy Antony, 105. What paſſed between Octavius and the Milaneſe, with regard to the ſtatue of Brutus, *ib.*

Bubulci, numbered by Plutarch amongſt the Roman ſurnames, i. 258.

† *Bucephalia*, iv. 306.

Bucephalus, Alexander's celebrated horſe, how managed by him and obtained, iv. 229. His age, 306.

Bulimia, a diſtemper in which perſons are extremely hungry, vi. 74.

Bull of Marathon, overcome by Theſeus, and ſacrificed to Apollo Delphinius, i. 12.

Bull and wolf in braſs at Argos, emblematical, iii. 108.

Bull of braſs upon which the Cimbrians laid their hands in the ſolemnity of an oath, iii. 140.

Bull ſacrificed to the river Euphrates, by Lucullus, iii. 336.

Bulla, a Roman ornament for children, i. 72.

Burials, in what manner regulated by Lycurgus, i. 138.

Buried alive, two Greeks and two Gauls, by the Romans, in compliance with the Sibylline prophecies, ii. 360.

Buſiris, king of Ægypt, ſacrificed by Hercules, i. 10.

Buſkin, Theramenes ſo called for his verſatility, iii. 373.

Butas, Cato's freedman, v. 116.

Butas the poet, i. 75.

Butes, general of the Perſians, being beſieged by Cimon, burns himſelf, iii. 280.

† *Buthrotus*, vi. 75.

† *Byzantium*, recovered by Alcibiades, ii. 143. Saved by Phocion, v. 17.

C.

CABIRI, country of the Cabiri, iii. 321.

Cabiri, the *dii magni*, or Samothracian gods, iii. 318, 320. *n.* ii. 290. Their temple plundered by pirates, iv. 143.

Caddos, what, i. 116.

† *Cadmea*, the citadel of Thebes ſo called, iv. 93. Moſt unjuſtly ſurpriſed by Phœbidas the Lacedæmonian, *ib.*

Cadmia, ſiſter of Neoptolemus, iii. 66.
Cadmus, iii. 237.
Caduceus, Mercury's rod, carried by heralds, v. 225. *n.*
† *Caduſians*, vi. 115, 132.
Cæcias, the wind ſo called, iv. 21.
Cæcilia, mother of Lucullus, iii. 301.
Cæcilia Metella, daughter of Metellus the chief pontiff, wife of Sylla, iii. 221. and mother to Æmilia by Scaurus her former huſband, 259. iv. 125. Dies, iii. 261.
Cæcilius Metellus, ſon of Metellus Numidicus, iii. 116. Dedicates the picture of Flora in the temple of Caſtor and Pollux, iv. 119. Deſired by the army to take the command in Rome againſt Marius and Cinna, but refuſes, iii. 165.
Cæcilius, the rhetorician, v. 238.
Cæcilius, an emancipated ſlave, v. 278.
Caecilius, or rather Cœlius, the Ædile, applies to Cicero, when governor of Cilicia, for panthers, v. 312. Cicero's anſwer, *ib.*
Caelia, ſee *Cœlia*.
Caelibacy, ſee Batchelors.
† *Caenon*, iv. 161.
Caephiſias, a muſician, iii. 70.
Caepio, defeated by the Teutones and Cimbri, iv. 3. iii. 341.
Caepio marries Pompey's daughter, who had been contracted to Fauſtus the ſon of Sylla, iv. 172.
Caepio, half-brother to Cato the Younger, much beloved by him, v. 49. His death, 55.
Caeſar, Caius Julius, Sylla endeavours to bring him to repudiate Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna, and being unable to effect it, confiſcates her dowry, iv. 325. Marius, by marrying Julia, Cæſar's aunt, had a family-connexion with him, *ib.* Cæſar loſes the prieſthood through Sylla's means, 326. Sylla ſays that in Cæſar were many Mariuſes, *ib.* Cæſar conceals himſelf, 326. Sylla's blood-hounds fall in with him, *ib.* He bribes one Cornelius to let him go, *ib.* Repairs to Nicomedes in Bithynia, *ib.* Reimbarks, and is taken by pirates, *ib.* In what manner he lived while amongſt the pirates, *ib.* Pays his ranſom, mans ſome veſſels, takes thoſe pirates, and crucifies them, 327. Studies under Apollonius Molo at Rhodes, 327, 328. Has great powers as an orator, 328. Accuſes Dolabella and Publius Antonius, *ib.* Gains a conſiderable intereſt by defending perſons impeached, and a ſtill greater by his condeſcenſion, and the generous manner in which he lives, *ib.* Perſons in power diſregard him at firſt, imagining he muſt ſoon exhauſt his eſtate, *ib.* Cicero ſeems to have been the firſt who diſcovered in him deep and dangerous deſigns, 329. He obtains a tribuneſhip in the army before his competitor Popilius, *ib.* Pronounces the funeral oration of his aunt Julia, and has the hardineſs to bring forth the images of Marius,

Marius, *ib.* Pronounces a funeral panegyric for his own wife, which (as ſhe was a young woman) was contrary to cuſtom, *ib.* Goes out quæſtor to Spain with Antiſtius Veter, 330. Takes Pompeia to his third wife, *ib.* A thouſand three hundred talents in debt before he got any public employment, *ib.* Exhibits three hundred and twenty pair of gladiators, when ædile, *ib.* Revives the faction of Marius, and reſtores his images, *ib.* Catulus impeaches him for this, 331. The ſenate gives it for him, *ib.* Metellus, the chief pontiff dies, and Cæſar ſtands for that high office againſt Iſauricus and Catulus, *ib.* Catulus offers him large ſums, on condition that he will drop his pretenſions, but he rejects them, 332. His ſaying to his mother on that occaſion, *ib.* Piſo and Catulus blame Cicero for ſparing Cæſar in the time of Catiline's conſpiracy, *ib.* The ſpeech which Cæſar made in the ſenate at that time, for a lighter puniſhment than death, *ib.* Cato and Catulus carry it againſt him, 333. In danger of being killed on that occaſion, as he goes out of the ſenate-houſe, *ib.* During his prætorſhip, while the women are celebrating the myſteries of the *bona dea* in his houſe, Clodius concerts an intrigue with Pompeia, 334. Clodius is detected, 335. Cæſar divorces Pompeia, *ib.* His celebrated ſaying thereupon, 336. Clodius is accuſed of impiety, but the influence of the people ſaves him, *ib.* Cæſar has the government of the farther Spain after his prætorſhip, 337. Craſſus engages for him for debts of eight hundred and thirty talents, before he can leave Rome, *ib.* Another ſaying of his, on paſſing through a village on the Alps, *ib.* His concern on reading the hiſtory of Alexander the Great, *ib.* He reduces ſome of the nations of Spain, and penetrates to the ocean, 338. His civil government ſatisfactory to the Spaniards, though he fills his own coffers, *ib.* At his return drops his triumph, becauſe his application for that and the conſulate at the ſame time was not conſiſtent, *ib.* Reconciles Pompey and Craſſus, *ib.* Cato alone foreſees the bad conſequence of that union, 339. Cæſar is appointed conſul with Calpurnius Bibulus, *ib.* Procures decrees for a diviſion of lands and diſtribution of corn, *ib.* Gives his daughter Julia to Pompey, 340. Marries Calpurnia the daughter of Piſo, and procures the conſulſhip for Piſo for the year enſuing, *ib.* Bibulus, finding his oppoſition fruitleſs, and his life often in danger, attends the public aſſemblies no more, *ib.* Pompey fills the forum with armed men, and Cæſar has the government of Gaul decreed him for five years, *ib.* Cæſar leads Cato towards priſon, but does not commit him, *ib.* His queſ-

tion to Conſidius, and that ſenator's anſwer, 341. He gets Clodius elected tribune of the people, *ib.* Is the greateſt general and conqueror the Romans ever had, *ib.* Inſtances of the valour of his ſoldiers, 342. The great example he ſet them in that reſpect, 343. Has the falling ſickneſs firſt at Corduba, *ib.* His indefatigable powers, 344. An excellent horſeman, *ib.* Not difficult in his diet, *ib.* Defeats the Helvetii and Tigurini, who had burnt their own towns, and deſigned to penetrate into Italy, 345. Obliges them to ſettle again in the countries they had quitted, 346. His war in defence of the Ædui, againſt Arioviſtus king of the Germans, 346, 347. He puts his army in winter quarters in the country of the Sequani, and repairs to Gaul on this ſide the Po, *ib.* Great numbers come to him from Rome, and he carries on a variety of ſtate-intrigues, *ibid.* The Belgæ revolt, and he ſoon reduces them, 348. Marches againſt the Nervii, who attack him ſuddenly, and at firſt gain conſiderable advantage, *ib.* His own valour, and that of the tenth legion, reſtores the action, and he deſtroys almoſt all their troops, 349. The ſenate order a thankſgiving for fifteen days, on account of this victory, *ib.* He croſſes the Alps again, and ſtrengthens his intereſt by bribery, *ib.* Pompey and Craſſus with a multitude of other ſenators, wait on him at Lucca, 350. It is agreed that they ſhall be conſuls the year enſuing, and to get Cæſar's government prolonged for five years more, *ib.* The Uſipetes and the Tenchteri, two German nations, renew the war, *ib.* Cæſar kills four hundred thouſand of them, 351. The Sicambri harbour the few that eſcaped, and this affords him a pretence to enter Germany, *ib.* He throws a bridge over the Rhine, 352. The Suevi and the Sicambri retire into their foreſts, *ib.* Cæſar, after having laid waſte the country with fire, returns to Gaul, *ib.* His two expeditions into Britain, *ib.* He receives news of Julia's death, *ib.* The people bury her in the Campus Martius, 353. He ſeparates his legions for the convenience of winter-quarters, *ib.* The Gauls, under the conduct of Amboirix, fall upon them, and cut off ſome of his lieutenants, *ib.* He gets intelligence of this, on the road to Italy, and haſtens back to the relief of Quintus Cicero, *ib.* The Gauls march againſt him, and he defeats them by ſtratagem, 354. Pompey lends him two legions, in the room of thoſe he had loſt, *ib.* The Gauls revolt again, and, under the conduct of Vercingetorix, begin hoſtilities, in the midſt of a ſevere winter, 354, 355. He defeats them with his uſual good fortune, 356. The remainder of their army retires into Aleſia,

Aleſia, *ib.* He beſieges them there, *ib.* A prodigious army comes to raiſe the ſiege, but he puts it to the route, 356, 357. The beſieged ſurrender, and Vercingetorix puts himſelf in the hands of the conqueror, 357. The death of Craſſus opens the way to the civil war between Cæſar and Pompey, *ib.* The corrupt ſtate of Rome at that time, makes it unfit to ſubſiſt any longer as a commonwealth, 858. Pompey is declared ſole conſul, and has his governments of Spain and Africa continued to him, *ib.* Cæſar applies for another conſulſhip, and for the continuation of his commiſſion in Gaul, *ib.* The conſuls behave to his agents with rancour, and even diſfranchiſe the colony of Novocomum, which he had lately planted, 359. After the conſulſhip of Marcellus, Cæſar gains the new conſul Paulus, and the tribune Curio, by money, *ib.* Sends back the two legions which Pompey had lent him, *ib.* Theſe troops give it out that Cæſar's whole army was ready to come over to Pompey, *ib.* Pompey oppoſes his enemy only with ſpeeches and decrees, *ib.* Cæſar's requiſitions have a great appearance of juſtice; but Scipio and Lentulus carry it againſt him in the ſenate, 360, 361, Cicero almoſt brings matters to a compromiſe, 361. But Lentulus, in the rage of party, drives out the tribunes Antony and Curio, and they fly to Cæſar in the habit of ſlaves, *ib.* Cæſar is perplexed in his deliberations on the banks of the Rubicon, 362. He paſſes it, *ib.* Takes Ariminum, *ib.* Rome, and the reſt of Italy, are in great conſternation, 363. Favonius bids Pompey ſtamp with his foot, and bring his legions out of the earth, *ib.* Pompey leaves Rome, and orders the ſenate, and every friend to liberty to follow him, 364. Labienus goes over to Pompey, *ib.* Cæſar takes Domitius in Corfinium, who though pardoned by Cæſar, ſoon revolts again to Pompey, *ib.* Pompey retires to Brunduſium, and from thence to Dyrrachium, 365. Cæſar, having reduced all Italy in ſixty days, repairs to Rome, *ib.* Takes money out of the public treaſury, notwithſtanding the oppoſition from Metellus, *ib.* 366. Marches into Spain, reduces Pompey's army there, and incorporates it with his own, 366. Returns to Rome, and is declared dictator by the ſenate there, *ib.* His acts while he holds that office, which is only for eleven days, *ib.* Declares himſelf conſul with Servilius Iſauricus, *ib.* Marches to Brunduſium, *ib.* Croſſes the Ionian with part of his troops, *ib.* Takes Oricum and Apollonia, *ib.* Sends back his ſhips, to bring over the reſt of his forces, but thoſe ſhips are taken by the enemy, 367. Reſolves to croſs the ſea in a twelve-oared boat, to fetch the reſt of his

troops; but the winter ſtorms prevent it, 368. Antony arrives from Brunduſium with the troops, 369. Cæſar is diſtreſſed for proviſions, *ib.* Has the advantage in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes; but in one is driven back to his camp, and in danger of having it taken, *ib.* Cæſar's ſaying on that occaſion, 370. He marches againſt Scipio, who lay in Macedonia, *ib.* Pompey, for good reaſons, is for waiting the advantages of time; but not a man, except Cato, is of his opinion, 371. Cæſar takes Gomphi in Theſſaly, 372. Aſks his troops whether they choſe immediately to riſque an action, or to wait for reinforcements, 373. Omens of victory to Cæſar, 373, 377. Circumſtances previous to the battle of Pharſalia, 374. The battle, 375. Pompey flies, 376. What Cæſar ſaid, on viewing the enemy's camp, *ib.* He incorporates with his own troops moſt of the priſoners, and pardons many perſons of diſtinction; Brutus among the reſt, *ib.* Signs preceding the victory, 377. Cæſar beſtows liberty on the whole country of Theſſaly, *ib.* Grants the ſame privilege to the Cnidians, at the requeſt of Theopompus, *ib.* Diſcharges the inhabitants of Aſia from a third part of their impoſts, *ib.* His behaviour when Theodotus preſented to him the head of Pompey, *ib.* He has the ſatisfaction of ſaving every day one or other of his fellow-citizens, 378. Is ill treated by Photinus, and ſends for Cleopatra, *ib.* Demands the ſums due to him from Ptolemy, *ib.* The ſtratagem by which Cleopatra was conveyed into his palace, *ib.* He inſiſts that ſhe ſhall reign along with her brother, 379. Achillas and Phothinus plot againſt Cæſar's life, *ib.* Cæſar kills Photinus; but Achillas eſcapes to the army, and involves Cæſar in a very dangerous war, 379. The Egyptians ſtop up the aqueducts that ſupplied his quarter, *ib.* He is forced to burn his ſhips in harbour, *ib.* The flames deſtroy the great Alexandrian library, *ib.* Cæſar's extreme danger in the naval fight near Pharos, 380. Ptolemy is never heard of after it, *ib.* Cleopatra brings Cæſar a ſon, who is named Cæſario, *ibid.* On intelligence that Pharnaces, ſon of Mithridates, had defeated his lieutenant Domitius, he marches againſt him, and defeats him near Zela, *ib.* His laconic account of that action, *ib.* Returns to Rome near the end of the year of his ſecond dictatorſhip, 381. Is declared conſul for the year enſuing, *ib.* Does not ſufficiently puniſh either his lieutenants or his ſoldiers for their miſdemeanors, *ib.* Begins the war in Africa againſt Cato, Scipio, and Juba, *ib.* Gives one Scipio Sallutio the nominal command, on account of an oracle that declared the Scipios would be always victorious in Africa, 382. Is much

much annoyed by the Numidian cavalry, *ib.* Falls upon Scipio, as he is fortifying a camp at Thapſus, and gives him an entire defeat, 383. Takes the camp of Afranius, and deſtroys that of Juba, with the ſame tide of ſucceſs, *ib.* Haſtens to Utica, in hopes of taking Cato alive, 384. His ſaying on finding that he had diſpatched himſelf, *ib.* He writes the Anti-cato, *ib.* Leads up his triumphs, 385. Entertains the people at twenty-two thouſand tables, *ib.* Exhibits games in honour of his daughter Julia, *ib.* Marches into Spain, and fights the battle of Munda, in which he defeats the ſons of Pompey with great difficulty, 386. The elder of the ſons is taken, and put to death, *ib.* His triumph for this victory diſpleaſes the Romans, 387. He is created perpetual dictator, *ib.* Other extravagant honours are conferred upon him, *ib.* A temple is built to Clemency, *ib.* He rears again the ſtatues of Pompey, which had been thrown down, 388. Cicero's ſaying on that occaſion, *ib.* Refuſes to have a guard, and why, *ib.* Colonizes Carthage and Corinth, *ib.* Studious to gain all ranks of people, *ib.* Deſigns to conquer Parthia, and from thence to march northwards, extending the Roman empire to the ocean on every ſide, 389. Attempts to dig through the iſthmus of Corinth, and meditates other great things, *ib.* Corrects the calender, 390. His paſſion for the title of king proves his ruin, 391. He does not riſe to the ſenate, when they wait on him in a body, *ib.* Antony offers him a diadem, at the feſtival of the Lupercalia, 392. He finds the people againſt his receiving it, 393. Two of the tribunes take the perſons into cuſtody who firſt ſaluted him king, and tear the diadems from his ſtatues, *ib.* He depoſes the tribunes, *ib.* Brutus is deſired to take off the tyrant, *ib.* He heſitates on account of the obligations he had to Cæſar, 394. Cæſar has ſome intimation of the conſpiracy, and ſuſpects Caſſius, but will believe nothing ill of Brutus, *ib.* Preſages of Cæſar's death, 395. He prefers a ſudden death to any other, *ib.* Calpurnia's dream, *ib.* He ſends Antony to adjourn the ſenate, 396. Brutus Albinus laughs him out of his fears, and conducts him to the ſenate-houſe, *ib.* Artemidorus puts a paper in his hand, containing an account of the conſpiracy; but he has not opportunity to read it, 397. Caſſius addreſſes the ſtatue of Pompey, *ib.* Antony is held in diſcourſe without the houſe, *ib.* The conſpirators approach him under pretence of petitioning for the brother of Cimber, 398. Caſca gives him the firſt blow, *ib.* Cæſar makes ſome reſiſtance, but on perceiving the ſword of Brutus, he yields to his fate, *ib.* He dyes the pedeſtal of Pompey's ſtatue

with his blood, 399. Brutus attempts to ſpeak to the ſenate, but it breaks up, *ib.* Antony and Lepidus hide themſelves, *ib.* The conſpirators march to the capitol, with their bloody ſwords in their hands, and call the people to liberty, *ib.* They come down from the capitol, and Brutus addreſſes the people, 400. The ſenate is aſſembled, and an act of general amneſty is paſſed, *ib.* Circumſtances which enrage the people, *ib.* The body of Cæſar is burnt in the forum, *ib.* He died at the age of fifty-ſix, and ſurvived Pompey only four years, 401. Thoſe who dipt their hands in his blood, come to an untimely end, *ib.* A comet appears after his death, *ib.*

Cæſar, Octavianus, ſee Auguſtus.

Cæſar, Lucius, ſent by the council of Utica to intercede with Cæſar, v. 113. Given up by Antony in the proſcription, tho' his uncle, v. 407.

Cæſar, Sextus Julius, iii. 217.*n.*

Cæſario, ſon of Julius Cæſar, by Cleopatra, iv. 380. v. 457. Murdered by Octavianus, v. 466.

Caius, foſter brother to Mithridates, ſteals his crown after his death, and gives it to Fauſtus the ſon of Sylla, iv. 166.

Caius Cornelius, of Padua, foretells Cæſar's victory, iv. 377.

See the other CAII *under their family names.*

Calanus, the Indian philoſopher, iv. 311. The regard Alexander had for him, 312. His ſymbol of the ox's hide, *ib.* Burns himſelf, 315.

† *Calauria*, ii. 247. iv. 143. v. 33. 267.

Calenus, iv. 373.

Callaecians, iv. 338.

Callaeſchrus, ii. 145.

Callippus, an acquaintance of Dion's, with whom he lodged at Athens, vi. 14. Goes with Dion to Syracuſe, 48. Murders him, 50. Killed, *ibid.*

Calliades, an Athenian officer, defeated in Thrace, iii. 379.

Callias the Athenian, makes a declaration in form that if he died without children, Alcibiades, his brother-in-law, ſhould be his heir, ii. 108. Takes the Perſian gold, and kills the perſon that directed him to it, 416. Firſt couſin to Ariſtides, and accuſed of ſuffering him to want neceſſaries, 448. Vindicates himſelf againſt that charge, *ib.* Marries Elpinice, iii. 277. Negociates a good treaty with the king of Perſia, 290.

Callias the Syracuſan, v. 241.

Callibius appointed governor of the citadel of Athens by Lyſander, iii. 190.

Callicles the uſurer, v. 10.

Callicles, the ſon of Arrenides, v. 263.

Callicrates, a Spartan officer, wounded at the approach of the battle of Platææ, ii. 435. What he ſaid juſt before he expired, *ib.*

Callicrates, the Syracuſan general, challenges Lamachus, and they die by each other's hand, iii. 398.

Callicrates, and Ictinus, the architects who builds the Parthenon, ii. 20.

Callicratidas, the Spartan general, ſent to ſucceed Lyſander, iii. 177. Not a popular nor courtly man, but brave and virtuous, 178. Fails in his application to Cyrus for money, *ib.* Defeated and ſlain at the battle of Arginuſæ, *ib.*

† *Callidromus*, mount, ii. 470.

Callimachus, an excellent engineer in the ſervice of Mithridates, iii. 327. Sets fire to the city of Amiſus, when he can no longer defend it, *ib.* Taken priſoner by Lucullus at Niſibis, and kept in chains, 349.

Callimedon, ſurnamed Carabus, v. 31, 265. Flies from Athens, 38. Sentence of death paſſed againſt him, 42.

Calliphon, an Athenian exile, intercedes with Sylla for Athens, iii. 232.

Callipedes, the Tragedian, iv. 90. His vanity, 91.

Calliſthenes, one of Lucullus's freedmen, gives him a potion which affects his brain, iii. 363.

Calliſthenes, the philoſopher, endeavours to conſole Alexander, when he had killed Clitus, iv. 295. His ſarcaſm on Anaxarchus, 296. His character, *ib.* His oration in praiſe of the Macedonians, and another in their diſpraiſe, 297. Ariſtotle's obſervation on him hereby juſtified, That he was an excellent orator, but wanted prudence, *ib.* Nephew to Ariſtotle, 299. Refuſes to worſhip Alexander, 297. What he was accuſed of ſaying to Hermolaus, 398. His death, 299.

Calliſthenes, one of the orators whom Alexander demanded of the Athenians, v. 261.

Calliſthenes, the hiſtorian, iv. 108.

Calliſtratus ſecretary to Mithridates, iii. 325.

Calliſtratus the orator, v. 240, 249.

Calliſtus, the grandfather of Nymphidus, vi. 206.

Calpurnii, from Calpus, the ſon of Numa, i. 184.

Calpurnia, daughter of Piſo, and wife of Cæſar, iv. 340. Her dream, 395. Puts herſelf under the protection of Antony, v. 403.

Calpurnius Bibulus, ſee Bibulus.

Calpurnius Lanarius, aſſaſſinates Julius Salinator, iv. 9.

Calpurnius Piſo, ſee Piſo.

Calpus, ſaid to be the ſon of Numa; which was probably an invention of the Calpurnii, i. 184.

Calvinus, Lucius, iv. 201.

Calviſius, a retainer to Auguſtus, accuſes Antony, v. 445.

Calviſius Sabinus, a Roman General, vi. 208.

† *Calydon*, vi. 156.

Calydonian boar, killed by Meleager with the aſſiſtance of Theſeus, i. 31.

† *Camarineans*, vi. 24.

Cambyſes, fifty thouſand of his men buried in the ſands of Africa, iv. 259.

Camels, when firſt ſaid to be ſeen by the Romans, iii. 316.

Camel's houſe, a place ſo called, iv. 266.

† *Cameria* taken by Romulus, i. 79.

Camerians admitted citizens of Rome by Marius, contrary to law, iii. 146.

Camillus, or *Caſmillus*, a name given to the youth that ſerves in the temple of Jupiter, i. 160. Camillus never conſul, becauſe in his time military tribunes were appointed inſtead of conſuls, i. 326. The firſt who raiſed the family of the Furii to diſtinction, 327. A great action of his in the wars with the Æqui and Volſci, *ib.* Raiſed to the cenſorſhip, *ib.* Obliges the men who lived ſingle to marry the widows of thoſe who fell in the wars, 328. Makes orphans, as well as others, contribute to the ſupplies, *ib.* A ſecond time military tribune, 329. Defeats the Faliſci and Capenates, while his colleagues carry on the ſiege of the Veii, *ib.* In the tenth year of the ſiege appointed dictator, 331. He takes Cornelius Scipio for his general of horſe, *ib.* His vows, *ib.* He takes Veii by mining, 332. Weeps over the miſeries of that great city, 333. His generous prayer, *ib.* Falls in turning after his prayer, *ib.* Removes the ſtatue of Juno to Rome, 334. Leads up his triumph in a chariot drawn by four white horſes, which ſort of carriage had been appropriated to the ſervice of the gods, 335. Oppoſes the removing half the people of Rome to Veii, *ib.* His vow of the tenth of the ſpoils to Apollo, and abſurd proceeding thereupon, 336. In theſe three laſt articles he highly offended the people, *ib.* The matrons contribute their golden ornaments, and a large vaſe is ſent to Delphi, *ib.* Choſen a military tribune a third time, 337. Beſieges Falerii, *ib.* The treachery of the ſchool-maſter, and his chaſtiſement, 338, 339. The Falerians, ſtruck with the generous behaviour of Camillus, ſurrender their city, *ib.* He loſes his ſon, 340. Is accuſed of fraud with reſpect to the Tuſcan ſpoils, *ib.* Quits Rome, a voluntary exile, 341. Imprecates vengeance on the Romans, *ib.* Is fined fifteen thouſand *aſſes*, *ib.* Tokens of the approaching calamities, 342. What led the Gauls firſt into Italy, 343. They beſiege Cluſium, 344. A Roman ambaſſador unjuſtly mixes with the combatants, upon which the Gauls march towards Rome, 345. They defeat the Romans near the river Allia, 347. The Romans give up the reſt of the city, and retire into the capitol, 350. Rome is taken and burnt, 352, 353. Proviſions beginning to fail the Gauls, part remains before the capitol, and part goes out to forage and plunder, 454. Camillus, who had taken up his reſidence near Ardea, cuts in pieces a conſiderable corps near that place, *ib. et ſeq.* The Romans in Veii deſire Camillus to take the command of them, which he refuſes till commiſſioned by the ſenate, 356. Declared dictator the ſecond time, 357. Finds twenty thouſand

thouſand men in arms at Veii, and adds them to his army, *ib.* The Gauls climb the rocks by the way which one of the Romans had aſcended, but are diſcovered by ſome geeſe kept near Juno's temple, and repulſed by Manlius, 358, 359. Proviſions grow ſcarce in the Gauliſh camp, and ſickneſs prevails in it, *ib.* The beſieged treat with Brennus, and offer him a thouſand pounds weight of gold, 360. While that is weighing, Camillus comes to Rome, 361. His diſcourſe with Brennus, *ib.* They come to blows amongſt the ruins, *ib.* Brennus marches in the night, and encamps on the road to Gabii, *ib.* Camillus attacks and defeats them, and makes himſelf maſter of their camp, *ib.* Enters Rome in triumph, 362. Reſtores the temples, and builds one to a new deity, Aius Loquutius, *the ſpeaker*, *ib.* Prepares to rebuild the city, but the people hanker after Veii, 363. The ſenate appoints him dictator the third time, *ib.* The city is rebuilt in the compaſs of a year, but in an irregular manner, 364. The *Lituus*, or augural ſtaff of Romulus, is found under the rubbiſh, 365. The Romans are attacked by ſeveral of the neighbouring ſtates—the military tribunes ſurrounded on mount Marcius by the Latins, *ib.* He burns the enemy's works, and gives them an entire defeat, 368. Finds the city of Sutrium taken, and retakes it the ſame day, 369. Triumphs for theſe great actions, *ib.* Envied by Manlius Capitolinus, who courting the populace, endeavours to raiſe himſelf to abſolute power, 369, 370. Manlius is condemned and executed, 371. With difficulty prevailed upon to accept the military tribuneſhip the ſixth time, *ib.* Marches againſt the Præneſtines and the Volſcians, *ib.* Succours his colleagues, who had raſhly ventured upon an action, and routs the enemy the day following, 372. Retakes Satricum, a Roman colony, and puts the Tuſcans he found there to the ſword, *ib.* How he dealt with the people of Tuſculum, 373. A ſedition prevails in Rome; the people inſiſting that one of the conſuls ſhould be a plebeian, 374. Is appointed dictator the fourth time, but ſoon reſigns that office under pretence of ſickneſs, *ib.* Another dictator, and an Agrarian law, 375. The Gauls march again towards Rome, and Camillus, being appointed dictator the ſixth time, defeats them near the river Anio, though now very old, 376, 377. Reconciles the ſenate and people, by allowing one of the conſuls to be choſen out of the plebeians, 378, 379. Builds a temple to Concord, *ib*, Dies of the plague, *ib.* Extremely regretted, 380.

† *Campania*, v. 78.

Campanians, vi. 24.

Campus Martius had been moſt of it the property of Tarquin, i. 252.

Camulatus, a ſoldier, who goes over from Brutus to Auguſtus, vi. 96.
Camurius, vi. 225.
Canathrum, a Lacedæmonian chariot, deſcribed, iv. 88.
Candidates, looſely clad that they might more eaſily ſhew the wounds they had received, ii. 170. An agreement made amongſt them to prevent bribery, 171.
Canes, javelins made of Cretan canes, iii. 207.
Canethus, Sciron his ſon by Henioche the daughter of Pittheus, i. 26.
Canidius, tribune of the people, propoſes to ſend Pompey ambaſſador to Ptolemy.
Canidius, or *Caninius*, employed in Cyprus, v. 80, 81. vi. 54.
Canidius Antony's lieutenant, bribed by Cleopatra to perſuade Antony to a thing that proves his ruin, v. 442. Adviſes Antony to fight at the head of his land-forces, and not of the fleet, 449. Quits his camp after Antony's flight, 454. Brings Antony word that his army is diſperſed, 457.
Caninius Rebilius, conſul for part of a day, iv. 388.
† *Canopus*, v. 179, 416.
† *Cannæ*, ii. 77.
Cannicius (Caius) and Caſtus revolt from Spartacus, iii. 432.
Cantharus, v. 32.
Canuleia, a veſtal virgin, conſecrated by Numa, i. 165.
Canus a muſician, Galba's preſent to him, vi. 212.
† *Canuſium*, ii. 367, 394.
Canutius, a celebrated actor, vi. 71.
Capaneus, ii. 316.
† *Capenates*, conquered by Camillus, i 329, 332.
Capheſias, a friend of Aratus's, vi. 145.
Caphis, ſent by Sylla to ſeize the treaſures of Delphi, iii. 229. Conducts Hortenſius with his reinforcement, 234.
† *Caphyæ*, vi. 190.
Capito. See *Fonteius*.
Capitol, taken by the Sabines, i. 66. Beſieged by the Gauls, 354. Manlius's judges could not condemn him while they had that in ſight, 370.
Capitolinus, Q. Catulus, vi. 200.
Capitolinus, Quintius, i. 370.
† *Cappadocia*, iii. 227. iv. 37, 245.
† *Cappadocians*, their goddeſs, iii. 225.
Caprarii, i. 258.
Capreae Paulus, where Romulus diſappeared, i. 83.
Captives ſacrificed to Bacchus Omeſtes. See *Bacchus*.
† *Capua* ſurrenders to Hannibal, ii. 81.
Carabus. See *Callimedon*.
Caranus, Alexander deſcended from him, iv. 223.
Carbo defeated by the Teutones and Ambrones, iii. 132.
Carbo commits great outrages in Rome, iv. 122. Flies into Libya, iii. 253. On the death of Cinna he uſurps the government, iv. 122. Put to death by Pompey, 126.
† *Cardians*, iv. 34.
Carian ſoldier kills Cyrus; but as Artaxerxes claimed that honour to himſelf, the ſoldier ſuffers for his unadviſed ambition, vi. 116, 121.
† *Caria*, i. 9. ii. 149. iv. 75.
† *Carians*, by the Perſians called Cocks, vi. 116.

Carinna, one of Carbo's officers, iv. 123.
† *Carmania*, iv. 313.
Carmenta, the goddeſs, i. 74.
Carmentalia, feaſt of, i. 74.
Carmental Gate, i. 356.
Carneades, founder of the new academy, iii. 361. v. 274. Sent ambaſſador by the Athenians to Rome, ii. 483. Much admired there for his eloquence, *ib.*
Carneus, a Syracuſan month, called by the Athenians Metagitnion, iii. 414.
† *Carnutes* and Arverni, a warlike people amongſt the Gauls, iv. 355. Vercingetorix, their general, defeated by Cæſar, 356.
† *Carrae*, iii. 459.
† *Carthage*, colonized by Cæſar, iv. 388. Called Junonia by Caius Gracchus, when he rebuilt it, v. 219.
† *Carthage*, New, iv. 9.
Carthaginians appear before Sicily with a numerous fleet, ii. 212. Join Icetes againſt Timoleon, 218. Send twenty gallies to Rhegium to oppoſe Timoleon's paſſage to Sicily, 220. He diſappoints them by his ſuperior policy, 221. They ſend a great army into Sicily under Aſdrubal and Hamilcar, 240. Paſs the river Crimeſus, 242. Defeated by Timoleon, 244. Enter into league with Mamercus and Icetes, 245. Send Giſco with another army into Sicily, in which, for the firſt time, they employ Greek mercenaries, *ib.* Make peace with Timoleon, 249.
Carvilius, Spurius, the firſt Roman that divorced his wife, i. 95, 193.
Caryatides, their dance, vi. 125.
† *Caryſtus*, a city of Eubœa, vi. 73.
Caſca, Publius, the firſt that gave Cæſar a blow in the ſenate-houſe, iv. 398. vi. 93.
† *Caſinum*, ii. 65.
† *Caſpian* ſea, its water ſweet, iv. 285.
Caſſandra, daughter of Priamus, v. 128.
Caſſander takes care of the education of Philopœmen, iii. 1.
Caſſander, the enemy of Æacides, demands Pyrrhus, when an infant, from Glaucias, iii. 64.
Caſſander, ſon of Antipater, laughs at the barbarians who adore Alexander, iv. 320. Cauſes Demades to be put to death for calling his father Antipater an old rotten ſtalk, and diſpatches his ſon at the ſame time, v. 270. His army defeated by Demetrius, 354.
† *Caſſandria*, v. 380.
† *Caſſalinum*, ii. 65.
Caſſius Sabaco, a friend to Marius, why expelled the ſenate, iii. 118.
Caſſius, defeated by Spartacus, iii. 429.
Caſſius, quæſtor to Craſſus, adviſes his general to keep to the heights beyond the Euphrates, iii. 445. Expoſtulates with the traitor Ariamnes, 448. Marries Junia, the ſiſter of Brutus, vi. 58. His enmity to Cæſar, *ib.* His converſation with Brutus, 61. Addreſſes the ſtatue of Pompey (though of Epicurean

rean principles) before he gives Cæsar the blow, 66. Africa allotted as his province, 69. Delivers a third part of his treasure to Brutus, 79. Behaves cruelly at Rhodes, *ib.* Discourses with Brutus upon apparitions, 84, 85. An unlucky omen happens to him, *ib.* Gives his opinion against a battle, 87. His discourse with Messala, *ib.* and with Brutus, 88. The wing which he commanded routed, and his camp plundered, 90, 91. A mistake in reconnoitering makes him resolve upon death, 91. Pindarus, his freedman, dispatches him with the same sword that he had dipt in the blood of Cæsar, 92.

Cassius Scæva, his valour, iv. 342.

Cassius, Quintus, v. 395.

Castor and *Pollux* make war upon Athens for their sister Helen, whom Theseus had carried off, i. 35, 36. Received into Athens, and adopted by Aphidnus, in order to their being initiated in the mysteries of Ceres, *ib.* Appear in the battle by the lake Regillus, and immediately after are seen at Rome giving notice of the victory, ii. 158, 289. Their temple in Samothracia, 288. At Rome, iii. 224. iv. 119. v. 72. Thought to assist Lysander in a sea-fight, iii. 184. Stars of gold dedicated to them by Lysander, 192. Their different pursuits, v. 185.

† *Castulo*, a city of the Celtiberians, iv. 4.

Castus, one of the officers of Spartacus, iii. 432.

Catabates, Demetrius so intitled by the Athenians in one of their acts of worship, v. 342.

† *Catana*, a city in Sicily, ii. 125, 224. vi. 50.

Catiline, Lucius, murders his own brother, and persuades Sylla to put him amongst the proscribed, v. 282. iii. 258. Attempts to subvert the government, and is near executing it, v. 67. Account of his conspiracy, *ib.* His accomplices, *ib.* The proceedings consequent thereupon, *ib.* His character, 282, 283. Stands for the consulship, and loses it, 283. His resolution to kill Cicero, 286. His insolent saying in the senate, *ib.* Fails in his application for the consulship again, *ib.* Is commanded to quit Rome, and assembles an army, 288. Debates in the senate concerning the manner in which his accomplices should be punished, 293, 294. He and his army destroyed by Caius Antonius, 296.

Cato the Censor, said to be born at Tusculum, ii. 453. Lives in his youth on a paternal estate near the country of the Sabines, *ib.* His third name originally Priscus, *ib.* Why changed to Cato, *ib.* His hair red, and eyes grey, 454. Healthy and strong, for he was inured to labour and temperance, *ib.* Considers eloquence as an additional body, *ib.* Pleads causes in the villages and boroughs, but pleads without fee or reward, *ib.* Military glory still a greater object with him, *ib.* Makes his first campaign at the age of seventeen,

teen, when Hannibal was at the height of his proſperity in Italy, *ib.* His behaviour in battle, *ib.* Marches on foot, and carries his own arms, 455. Never angry with his ſervant for his manner of dreſſing his victuals, *ib.* Water his common drink, *ib.* In this reſpect he followed the example of Manius Curius, *ib.* Serves under Fabius Maximus at the ſiege of Tarentum, and forms a connexion there with Nearchus the Pythagorean, 456. Learns Greek at a late period, *ib.* Who were his favourite authors, *ib.* Valerius Flaccus, who had a country-houſe in his neighbourhood, takes him into his protection, and adviſes him to go to Rome, 457. His pleadings, and the intereſt of Valerius, procure him friends there, *ib.* He is appointed a legionary tribune, and afterwards quæſtor, *ib.* Riſes to the higheſt honours in time, and is the colleague of Valerius both in the conſulate and cenſorſhip, *ib.* Takes Fabius Maximus for his model, *ib.* When quæſtor to Scipio in the African expedition, comes home to accuſe him of laviſhing the public money, 458. Called the Roman Demoſthenes, *ib.* The Romans comparatively corrupt in his time, 459. His extreme temperance and frugality, *ib.* Plutarch's reflexions on his ſelling his old ſlaves, 460, 461. When governor of Sardinia, he puts the people of that country to no manner of charge, *ib.* Inexorable in whatever relates to public juſtice, 462. The nature of his ſtile, *ib.* His remarkable ſayings, 462, 466. Sent into the Hither Spain, *ib.* Hires troops of the Celtiberians, *ib.* Gains a great battle, *ib.* Gets the walls of four hundred towns razed in one day, *ib.* Gives every ſoldier a pound weight of ſilver, over and above his booty, 467. Keeps not only himſelf, but all his dependents, from extortion, *ib.* Scipio gets himſelf appointed his ſucceſſor, near the concluſion of the war; a meaſure that reflects diſhonour on him, rather than on Cato, 467, 468. Cato is honoured with a triumph, 468. He is equally induſtrious in the public ſervice afterwards, *ib.* Goes a volunteer with Tiberius Sempronius into Thrace, and with Acilius Glabrio into Greece, *ib.* Several Grecian cities revolt, but Cato retains Corinth, Patræ, and Ægium, in their duty, 469. The purport of his ſpeech to the Athenians, *ib.* Antiochus thinks himſelf ſecure in defending the paſs of Thermopylæ, but Cato takes a circuit, and falls upon his rear, 470, 471. Glabrio attacks him in front, and he is put to flight, *ib.* Cato carries the firſt news of the victory to Rome, 472. Conſiders it as a great political duty to proſecute offenders, 473. Impeaches Scipio Africanus and his brother Lucius, *ib.* Often impeaches himſelf, and once when he was very old, *ib.* What he ſaid thereupon,

thereupon, *ib.* Is candidate for the cenſorſhip, 474. What the power of that office was, *ib.* Choſen, notwithſtanding his declarations that he will be a ſevere cenſor, 475. Valerius Flaccus is appointed his colleague, at his requeſt, *ib.* He enrolls Valerius Flaccus chief of the ſenate, 476. Expels Lucius Quintius and Manilius, *ib.* Degrades Lucius the brother of Scipio, *ib.* What he did with reſpect to articles of luxury, 476, 477. He demoliſhes the houſes that jutted out into the ſtreet, 477. Is fined two talents, *ib.* Cenſured for building the Porcian hall at the public charge, *ib.* The people erect his ſtatue in the temple of *Health*, 478. The inſcription on that ſtatue, *ib.* What he had ſaid before concerning ſtatues, *ib.* Of all men the moſt forward to commend himſelf, *ib.* Chuſes a wife rather for family than fortune, 479. Prefers the character of a good huſband to that of a great ſenator, *ib.* Takes upon himſelf the education of his ſon, 480. His ſon's conſtitution and qualities, 480, 481. That ſon marries Tertia, the daughter of Paulus Æmilius, 481. Cato's management of his ſlaves, *ib. et ſeq.* Turns his thoughts from agriculture to more certain dependencies, 482. Practiſes uſury upon ſhips in the moſt blameable manner, *ib.* Lends money to his ſlaves, *ib.* In what manner repaid, *ib.* The extravagant praiſe he gave to œconomy, 483. Diſpleaſed at the influence which the eloquence of Carneades had on the Roman youth, *ib. et ſeq.* His unjuſt reflection on Socrates, 484. His prediction, 485. An enemy to the Grecian phyſicians, *ib.* A quack himſelf, *ib.* Marries a young wife in his old age, 486, 487. Has a ſon by that wife, to whom he gives the ſurname of Salonius, 487. Bears the death of his ſon Marcus with the moderation of a philoſopher, *ib.* Writes hiſtories and books on country affairs, 488. Keeps a better table in the country than in town, *ib.* His converſation, what, 489. Goes ambaſſador to Carthage, *ib.* Cauſes the third Punic war, 490. Dies in the beginning of it, 491. A verſe of Homer's, which he applied to Scipio, afterwards the ſecond Africanus, *ib.*

Cato, Marcus, ſon of Cato the Cenſor, loſes his ſword in battle, ii. 284. What he does to recover it, *ib.* Marries the daughter of Paulus Æmilius, 481.

Cato, the grandfather of Cato the Cenſor, had five horſes killed under him in battle, ii. 453.

Cato Salonius, ii. 487, 492.

Cato of Utica, great grandſon of Cato the Cenſor, v. 45. Left an orphan, together with his brother Cæpia and his ſiſter Porcia, *ib.* Brought up in the houſe of Livius Druſus, his mother's brother, *ib.* Had great firmneſs and ſolidity, when a child, *ib.* Extraordinary inſtances

ſtances of his intrepidity, and love of juſtice, in that period, 46, 47. He aſks his preceptor for a ſword to kill Sylla, 48. His anſwer to thoſe who aſked him, whom he loved moſt, 49. His affection for his brother Cæpio very great, *ib.* He takes upon him the prieſthood of Apollo, *ib.* Forms a connexion with Antipater of Tyre, for the ſake of ſtudying the Stoic philoſophy, *ib.* Cultivates the eloquence which was fit for popular aſſemblies, *ib.* The firſt occaſion of his ſpeaking in public, 50. The nature of his eloquence deſcribed, *ib.* He ſtrengthens his conſtitution by exerciſe, *ib.* Travels always on foot, *ib.* Is remarkably patient and abſtemious in ſickneſs, *ib.* Drinks, at firſt, only one glaſs after his meals, but in time loves to ſit over a bottle, for the ſake of philoſophical converſation, 51. Very inattentive to his dreſs, even when he appeared in public, *ib.* Lends his money to his friends without intereſt, *ib.* Knows no woman before his marriage, 52. Pays his firſt addreſſes to Lepida, and is diſappointed, *ib.* Writes iambics againſt his rival, whoſe proceedings were unfair, *ib.* Marries Attilia the daughter of Soranus, *ib.* Serves as a volunteer under Gellius, in the war with Spartacus, *ib.* A law being made againſt the uſe of nomenclators, he commits the names of the citizens to memory, 53. Goes with a tribune's commiſſion under Rubrius into Macedonia, *ib.* Rubrius gives him the command of a legion, which he forms in the moſt excellent manner to military virtue, 54. He goes to Pergamus, and prevails upon Athenodorus, the ſtoic, to return with him, *ib.* His brother Cæpio dies at Ænus in Thrace, 55. On this occaſion he ſhews rather the ſenſibility of a brother than the fortitude of a philoſopher, *ib.* Is left co-heir with Cæpio's daughter, *ib.* Cæſar's calumny againſt him, 55, 56. Great expreſſions of affection from his troops at his departure, 56. He viſits Aſia, and Deiotarus invites him to his court, *ib.* His manner of travelling, and care not to be troubleſome, *ib.* Meets with a pleaſant adventure, on entering Antioch, 57. Pompey gives him an honourable reception at Epheſus, *ib.* What Curio had ſaid to Cato with reſpect to his travelling, 58. Deiotarus ſtrongly importunes him to receive his preſents, and he makes a very ſhort ſtay at his court, on account of that importunity, 59. He ſails from Brunduſium to Rome in the ſhip that carried Cæpio's remains, and has a bad paſſage, *ib.* When quæſtor, he makes a great reformation in that department, 60, 61. Calls the aſſaſſins, employed by Sylla, to account, 62. Prevents his colleague Marcellus from making an unjuſt grant, 63. Always attends the meetings of the ſenate, *ib.* Watches over the

the conduct of Pompey, *ib.* Oppoſes the pernicious practices of Clodius, 64. His veracity becomes proverbial, *ib.* Not inclined to offer himſelf for tribune of the people, but puts a force upon himſelf when he finds that Metellus Nepos ſtands for that office, 65. Being appointed tribune, he gives the people a ſevere charge with reſpect to corruption in the conſular elections, 66. Proſecutes Muræna for offending in that way, *ib.* Muræna, notwithſtanding, conſults him during his conſulſhip, 67. Cato ſupports the ſupreme magiſtrate by many excellent meaſures during the turbulent times of Catiline, *ib.* He prevails with the ſenate to decree that the conſpirators ſhould be capitally puniſhed, 68, 69. A billet is brought to Cæſar in the ſenate-houſe, and Cato inſiſts on having it read publicly, 69. The billet is from Cato's ſiſter Servilia, *ib.* Unfortunate amongſt the women, *ib.* The conduct of his own wife Attilia not unexceptionable, *ib.* He divorces her, *ib.* Marries Martia, the daughter of Philip, *ib.* Hortenſius deſires to have her, and Cato gives her up to him, 70. He perſuades the ſenate to grant the people a free gift of corn, in order to counterwork the popularity of Cæſar, 71. The ill policy of that proceeding, *ib. n.* Metellus propoſes an edict to call Pompey and his troops into Italy, intending to give up the ſtate into his hands, *ib.* Cato oppoſes him at the hazard of his life, and ſucceeds, 72, 73. Prevents the ſenate from voting Metellus infamous, 74. Procures Lucullus his triumph, which Memmius had attempted to deprive him of, *ib.* Prevents the ſenate from granting Pompey's requiſition to defer the election of conſuls till his arrival, 75. Pompey demands two of Cato's nieces in marriage, the elder for himſelf, and the younger for his ſon; and Cato refuſes him, *ib.* Pompey is ſoon after guilty of open bribery, *ib.* What Cato ſaid to the women upon it, *ib.* Cato's bad policy, in rejecting the alliance of Pompey, throws him into the arms of Cæſar, 76. Cato ſupports Lucullus againſt Pompey, *ib.* Oppoſes the Agrarian law propoſed by Pompey and Cæſar, 77. They carry it againſt him by violence, *ib.* The ſenate is commanded to ſwear to the obſervance of the law, *ib.* Cato is prevailed upon by Cicero to take the oath, 78. He oppoſes Cæſar with reſpect to the diſtribution of lands in Campania, and Cæſar leads him to priſon, 78. Cæſar perceives the bad policy of that meaſure, and engages one of the tribunes to reſcue him, *ib.* The people vote Cæſar the provinces of Illyricum and the Gauls, for five years; upon which Cato tells them they were voting a tyrant into the citadel of Rome, 79. Cato is ſent to Cyprus, that Clodius might

might be able to baniſh Cicero, *ib.* Cato, before his departure, exhorts Cicero to yield to the neceſſity of the times, 80. Brings Ptolemy king of Cyprus to ſubmit by negotiation, *ib.* Ptolemy, king of Egypt, who was on his way to Rome, to ſolicit his re-eſtabliſhment in that kingdom, waits on Cato at Rhodes, *ib.* The good advice that Cato gave him, 81. Ptolemy of Cyprus poiſons himſelf, *ib.* Cato reſtores the Byzantine exiles, and reconciles them to their fellow-citizens, *ib.* Offends Munatius by his minute attention to the ſale of Ptolemy's goods, 82. Munatius is reconciled to him through the mediation of Marcia, 83. Cato brings near ſeven thouſand talents of ſilver to Rome, *ib.* His honourable reception there; and great privileges decreed him, which he declines, 84. Cicero, on his return from baniſhment, pulls down the tribunitial acts of Clodius, *ib.* Cato defends them, 85. This occaſions a coldneſs between Cicero and Cato, but afterwards they are reconciled, *ib.* Cæſar, Pompey, and Craſſus, erect themſelves into a triumvirate, and, as it were, divide the empire amongſt them, upon which, Cato adviſes his brother-in-law Lucius Domitius to oppoſe them with reſpect to the conſulſhip, *ib.* Pompey and Craſſus drive Domitius out of the Campus Martius by violence, and they are elected conſuls, 86. Cato is wounded in the fray, *ib.* Cato ſtands for the prætorſhip, but Pompey defeats him by very unfair means, 87. Cato, in a ſpeech to the people, predicts all the evils that afterwards befel the commonwealth, *ib.* He prevents the people from pulling down Pompey's ſtatues, 88. Tells Pompey that he was raiſing Cæſar, to the ruin of himſelf and the commonwealth too, *ib.* Is elected prætor, but diſgraces that office by the meanneſs of his dreſs, *ib.* Moves for a law, that every candidate ſhould declare upon oath that he had not been guilty of bribery, 89. Clodius accuſes Cato of embezzling a quantity of the Cyprian treaſure, 90. Marcus Favonius, a friend of Cato's, elected ædile through his aſſiſtance, 91. Cato conducts the public entertainments for Favonius with remarkable parſimony, 92. Scipio, Hypſæus, and Milo, being candidates for the conſulate, and nothing but violence and anarchy prevailing, Cato ſupports Bibulus's motion that Pompey ſhould be declared ſole conſul, 93. Reproves Pompey for ſome partial proceedings, 94. Cato, jealous of the progreſs that Cæſar was making towards ſupreme power, ſtands for the conſulſhip, 95. Loſes his election by his zeal againſt bribery, *ib.* Oppoſes a thankſgiving for Cæſar's victories in Germany, 96. A propoſal being made in the ſenate to appoint a ſucceſſor to Cæſar, and Cæſar's friends oppoſing

oppoſing it, except on certain conditions, Cato declares that Cæſar had now thrown off the maſk, *ib.* On Cæſar's taking Ariminum, Cato adviſes the ſenate to put every thing into the hands of Pompey, 97. Sends his younger ſon to Munatius in the country of the Brutii, *ib.* Takes Marcia again, on the death of Hortenſius, 98. Follows Pompey with his eldeſt ſon, *ib.* Is appointed to the government of Sicily, but finds the iſland already ſeized by the adverſe party, *ib.* Goes to Pompey at Dyrrachium, 99. Adviſes to procraſtinate the war, and that no Roman ſhould be killed, except in the field of battle, *ib.* Goes into Aſia for the purpoſe of raiſing men and ſhips, *ib.* Pompey, jealous of Cato's love of liberty, gives the command of the fleet to Bibulus, 100. Pompey's addreſs to the army little regarded, in compariſon of that of Cato, *ib.* Pompey, after his ſucceſs at Dyrrachium, leaves his magazines there, together with fifteen cohorts, under the command of Cato, *ib.* After the overthrow at Pharſalia, Cato paſſes into Corcyra, and takes the command of the fleet, 101. Pompey the younger would have killed Cicero, but Cato ſaves him, *ib.* He is informed, on the African coaſt, of the death of Pompey, *ib.* His march through the deſarts of Libya, to join Scipio, 102. Corrects the pride of Juba, 103. Refuſes to take the command of the army upon him, but repents of it afterwards, *ib.* Saves the Uticans from being put to the ſword, *ib.* Fortifies Utica, and fills it with proviſions, 104. Adviſes Scipio to proceed ſlowly in the war, but is not attended to, *ibid.* Scipio is defeated and ruined in the battle of Thapſus, 105. Cato's ſpeech to the three hundred, 106. They give up the thoughts of ſtanding a ſiege, 107. What paſſed between Cato and a body of cavalry, 108, 109, 110. Statyllus affects to imitate the firmneſs of Cato, 112. Circumſtances previous to the death of Cato, 114. Circumſtances of his death, 116.

Cato, ſon of Cato of Utica, v. 118. His intrigue with the wife of a Cappadocian prince, *ib.* Falls glorioufly in battle, 119, vi. 97.

Cattle, the wealth of the primitive times, i. 257.

Catulus, Lutatius, conſul with Marius, iii. 130. Guards the country of the Norici, *ib.* Quits the paſſes of the Alps, 139. Puts himſelf at the head of his flying forces, that they might ſeem to be only retreating, 140. Fights a battle in conjunction with Marius, and the victory is chiefly owing to Catulus, 145. Vows a temple *to the fortune of that day*, 143, 144. His name cut on the weapons of his men, 145. Gives Sylla occaſion to diſtinguiſh himſelf, to the great vexation of Marius, 215, 216. Catulus, cenſor with Craſſus, iii. 435. Oppoſes Craſſus's attempt to make Egypt tributary, *ib.*

Accuſes

Accuſes Cæſar to the ſenate for ſetting up Marius's images in the capitol, iv. 331. Is Cæſar's competitor for the pontificate, and offers him money to decline, 331, 332. His excellent character, v. 60. Catulus conſul with Lepidus, iv. 133. His addreſs to the people concerning Pompey, iii. 145, 146. Endeavours to ſave an obnoxious ſecretary in the quæſtor's office, v. 60. Blames Cicero for ſuffering Cæſar to eſcape in Catiline's conſpiracy, iv. 332. Suffocated himſelf by the ſteam of a coal fire, iii. 168.

† *Caucaſus*, Mount, iv. 159.

† *Caulonia*, ii. 87. vi. 24.

† *Caunians*, v. 353. vi. 118.

† *Caunus*, iii. 416. v. 353, 385.

Cebalinus offers to diſcover a conſpiracy to Alexander, iv. 290. *n.*

Cecina, one of Vitellius's generals, vi. 234. His gigantic ſize, and foreign dreſs, 235, 236.

Ceditius, Marcus, informed by a ſupernatural voice of the approach of the Gauls, i. 342.

Celer, one of the friends of Romulus, ſaid to be the perſon that killed Remus, i. 54.

Celer, Metullus why ſo called, i. 54.

† *Celænæ*, in Upper Phrygia, iv. 44. v. 338.

Celeres, light troops which Romulus uſed as a life-guard, i. 81. Diſmiſſed by Numa, 159.

Celibacy, argument againſt it, i. 204.

Celius, Marius, a friend of Galba's, vi. 224. Saved by Otho, 227. Their firſt interview after Otho's acceſſion, 229.

† *Celtæ*, a people of Gaul, made themſelves maſters of the beſt part of Italy, iii. 125. The limits of their country deſcribed, *ib.* 126.

† *Celtiberians*, iii. 115. iv. 4. Demand two hundred talents of Cato for their aſſiſtance in his wars, and he agrees to the demand, ii. 466.

† *Celto Cythæ*, the nations which bore that name, iii. 126.

† *Celtorians* and Senones, i. 342.

† *Cenchreæ*, v. 354.

† *Ceninenſians*, beaten by Romulus, i. 64.

Cenſor, office of, i. 327. *n.* ii. 474.

Cenſor dying in his office, an inauſpicious circumſtance, i. 342. *n.* None to bear that office twice, ii. 156. The reſpect the cenſors paid to Pompey, iv. 141.

Cenſorinus of the family of the Marcii, ii. 156. Accuſes Sylla of extortion in Cappadocia, but does not bring him to his trial, iii. 218.

Cenſorinus and Megabacchus companions of young Craſſus, iii. 453. The former orders his armour-bearer to kill him, 455.

Centaurs, their battle with the Lapithæ, i. 33. Their original, v. 120.

Centuries, in Rome, ii. 179. *n.*

† *Ceos*, i. 287. ii. 250.

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† *Cephisus*, river, i. 10. iv. 233. Sylla turns the course of it, iii. 235.
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† *Ceraunian* mountains, v. 34.
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† *Cercina*, isle of, iii. 163. vi. 22.
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† *Chæronea*, the place of Plutarch's nativity, iii. 272. History of its inhabitants, 272, 274. v. 455. Battles near it, iii. 228, 238. iv. 85, 86.
† *Chalæstra*, iv. 290.
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† *Chalcedon*, besieged by Alcibiades, ii. 141. By Mithridates, iii. 311.
† *Chalcidian* foretels the greatness of Sylla, iii. 217, 218.
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† *Chalcis*, i. 30. iii. 21, 39, 47, 48. v. 377.
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† *Chaldæans*, iv. 319.
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† *Chaonians*, iii. 102.
† *Characitani*, a people beyond the Tagus, subdued by a stratagem of Sertorius, iv. 20.
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† *Chares*, river, vi. 168.

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† *Chios*, a city in the iſland of that name, furniſhes Alcibiades with provender for his horſes, ii. 111. Lucullus expels Mithridates's forces from Chios, iii. 305.
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† *Chryſa*, i. 29.
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ſwer to Hortenſius, when he ſaid he could not ſolve riddles, 279. The preſents the Sicilians made him, when ædile, *ib.* His country-ſeats, *ib.* The fortune his wife Terentia brought him, *ib.* Has a number of men of letters about him, 280. Very abſtemious in his diet, and attentive to exerciſe, *ib.* Gives up his town-houſe to his brother, and takes up his reſidence on the Palatine hill, *ib.* Has a levée as great as Craſſus or Pompey, *ib.* Returned firſt when candidate for the prætorſhip, *ib.* Condemns Licinius Macer, and the culprit kills himſelf, *ib.* His behaviour to Vatinius, 281, and to Manilius, 281, 282. Out of fear of Catiline and his aſſociates, the patricians join the plebeians, in raiſing Cicero to the conſulſhip, 282. The deteſtable character and deſigns of Catiline, 282, 283. Catiline ſolicits the conſulſhip, and loſes it; Cicero and Caius Antonius being appointed to that office, 283. The tribunes of the people propoſe to ſet up a decemvirate, but Cicero quaſhes the bill, 284, 285. Inſtance of the force of his eloquence, in bringing the people to reliſh a theatrical regulation in favour of the equeſtrian order, 285. Catiline haſtens his enterprize before the return of Pompey, 286. Privately engages Sylla's veterans, at the head of whom was Manlius, *ib.* Cicero brings a charge againſt him in the ſenate, but has not ſufficient proofs, *ib.* Catiline offers himſelf again for the conſulſhip, but loſes it through the vigilance and intereſt of Cicero, *ib.* Craſſus, Marcellus, and Metullus Scipio, come to Cicero's houſe at midnight, and bring a packet of letters which give light into the intended maſſacre, 287. Cicero aſſembles the ſenate, and produces the packet, *ib.* Q. Arrius informs the ſenate of the deſigns of Sylla's veterans, *ib.* The conſuls are impowered to act in the manner they think beſt for the preſervation of the commonwealth, *ib.* Cicero takes the care of the city upon himſelf, 288. Catiline ſends Marcius and Cethegus to aſſaſſinate him; but he is appriſed of his danger by Fulvia, *ib.* Cicero aſſembles the ſenate, and Catiline appears, and attempts to ſpeak, but is prevented, *ib.* Cicero commands him to quit Rome; and he marches out with enſigns of authority, and ſoon aſſembles an army of twenty thouſand men, *ib.* Antony, Cicero's colleague, is ſent againſt him, 289. Lentulus heads the conſpirators in Rome, *ib.* The character of Lentulus, *ib.* He is deceived by pretended prophecies, *ib.* Reſolves to kill the whole ſenate, and burn the city, 290. The conſpirators take the ambaſſadors of the Allobroges into the plot, and charge them with letters to their nation and to Catiline, *ib.* They ſend one Titus of Crotona with the ambaſſadors, *ib.* Cicero, by his great vigilance

and addreſs, diſcovers this affair, 191. Lays an ambuſh for the Crotonian, and ſeizes him; the ambaſſadors privately aſſiſting the ſtate, *ib.* Cicero aſſembles the ſenate, and lays the letters before it, *ib.* Other informations, *ib.* Lentulus puts off his prætorian robe in the houſe, and with his accomplices, is taken into cuſtody, *ib.* Cicero gives the people an account of the proceedings of the day, *ib.* Spends the night following in conſidering what puniſhment he ſhould inflict on the criminals, 292. Silanus votes for the higheſt puniſhment, 293. The other ſenators do the ſame, till it comes to Cæſar, who was believed himſelf not to diſlike the conſpiracy, *ib.* Cæſar declares only for confiſcation and impriſonment, *ib.* Lutatius Catulus for capital; which is ſupported by Cato, and confirmed by the ſenate, 294. Cicero leads the convicts ſeverally through the forum to priſon, where they are executed, *ib.* The people call him the preſerver and ſecond founder of Rome, 295. Catiline gives Caius Antonius battle, and is deſtroyed, with his whole army, 206. Cæſar, now prætor, and two of the tribunes, prevent Cicero from addreſſing the people, and allow him only to take the oath on laying down his office, *ib.* He takes it in a form of his own, *ib.* The attempts againſt him defeated by Cato, *ib.* He gains the glorious title of father of his country, *ib.* His vanity diſguſting; yet not unwilling that others ſhould have their ſhare of honour, 297. His teſtimonies to the merit of Ariſtotle, Plato, and Demoſthenes, *ib.* Favours he did Cratippus, 298. His ſon ſtudies under that philoſopher, *ib.* Gorgias accuſed of accuſtoming young Cicero to a life of pleaſure and intemperance, *ib.* Cicero's ſuperior keenneſs of expreſſion leads him into violations of decorum, *ib.* Inſtances of that keenneſs, 299, 300, 301. Clodius becomes Cicero's enemy for giving evidence againſt his plea of an *alibi*, at the time when he entered Cæſar's houſe in diſguiſe, 302, 303. Clodius is elected tribune of the people, and attacks Cicero, 304. How the triumvirate then ſtood affected towards Cicero, *ib.* Cicero applies to Cæſar for a lieutenantcy under him in Gaul; but relinquiſhes it after it was granted, 305. This offends Cæſar, *ib.* Clodius ſummons him to anſwer for putting Lentulus and Cethegus to death, *ib.* Cicero puts on mourning, and twenty thouſand young men of the beſt families ſupplicate the people with him, *ib.* He applies to Pompey, who ungratefully deſerts him, 306. Dedicates a ſtatue of Minerva in the capitol, 307. Flies from Rome at midnight, *ib.* Is treated in general with great kindneſs, notwithſtanding his baniſhment and interdiction from fire and water by Clodius, *ib.* What hap-

happened on his ſailing from Brunduſium to Dyrrachium, 307. He bears his exile in a manner unbecoming a philoſopher, 308. Clodius burns his villas; and in the place where his houſe ſtood in Rome, erects a temple to Liberty, *ib.* and affronts Pompey, who now repents of his ſuffering Cicero to be baniſhed, *ib.* The ſenate reſolves to diſpatch no public buſineſs till Cicero is recalled. *ib.* A great tumult enſues, in which Quintus, the brother of Cicero, is left for dead, 309. Milo ſummons Clodius to anſwer for his violation of the public peace, *ib.* Pompey drives Clodius out of the forum, and the people vote for Cicero's return with great unanimity. *ib.* The ſenate vies with the commons in zeal for Cicero, *ib.* The cities through which he paſſes do the ſame, *ib.* He returns ſixteen months after his baniſhment, *ib.* Erazes Clodius's acts from the tribunitial tables, and endeavours to annul them, but is prevented by Cato, 309, 310. Milo kills Clodius; and being arraigned for the fact, chuſes Cicero for his advocate, 310. Cicero, though ſo able an orator, had a timidity in ſpeaking, *ib.* Milo loſes his cauſe, 311. Cicero is appointed one of the augurs *ib.* Is ſent proconſul into Cilicia, where he behaves with great integrity, prudence, and moderation, *ib.* Brings the Cappadocians to ſubmit to Ariobarzanes without bloodſhed, *ib.* Routs the robbers who had poſſeſſed themſelves of mount Amanus, and is ſaluted *Imperator* by the army, 312. His anſwer to the ædile Cœlius, who applied to him for panthers, *ib. n.* Viſits Rhodes and Athens in his return, *ib.* Finds the flame of civil war ready to break out at Rome, *ib.* His ſaying on the ſenate's decreeing him a triumph, *ib.* In great doubt and perplexity as to the party he ſhould take, 313. Cæſar would have been ſatisfied with his ſtanding neuter, but at laſt he joins Pompey, *ib.* Cato blames him for not remaining at Rome, *ib.* He repents of the ſtep he had taken, 314. Diſparages Pompey's preparations, counſels, and allies, *ib.* Some ſtrokes of wit and repartee, in which he indulged himſelf in the camp, *ib.* After the battle of Pharſalia was loſt, Cato deſires Cicero, as a perſon of conſular dignity, to take the command of the fleet; and on his refuſal, young Pompey threatens to kill him, 315. He waits at Brunduſium for Cæſar's return from Egypt, *ib.* Is treated by the conqueror with great humanity and regard, *ib.* The compliment Cæſar paid him in his Anti-Cato, *ib.* His eloquence prevails upon Cæſar to acquit Ligarius, contrary to his reſolution, 315, 316. He ſpends his time in philoſophic retirement, and in forming the young nobility, 316. Invents Latin terms in logic and

and natural philoſophy, anſwerable to the Greek, 316. Rarely goes to Rome, and then only to vote Cæſar new honours, *ib.* What he ſaid of Cæſar's ſetting up Pompey's ſtatues, 317. Forms a deſign to write the hiſtory of his own country, but is prevented, *ib.* Divorces Terentia, and marries a young lady of great fortune, to whom he was guardian, *ib.* Loſes his daughter Tullia, 318. Puts away his new wife, becauſe ſhe ſeemed to rejoice at the death of Tullia, *ib.* After the death of Cæſar, Cicero recommends a general amneſty, and that provinces ſhould be decreed to Brutus and Caſſius, *ib.* Antony inflames the people, by ſhewing them the dead body of Cæſar, and the friends of liberty quit the city, *ib.* Cicero ſets out for Athens, but the news of Antony's reformation invites him to return to Rome, 319. Lives there in fear of aſſaſſination, 320. Octavius comes to Rome to demand Cæſar's inheritance, and forms a connexion with Cicero, *ib.* The dream which Cicero had ſome years before, concerning Octavius, *ib.* The reflection which Brutus made upon that new connection of Cicero's, 321. Cicero expels Antony, 322. Hirtius and Panſa are ſent to give Antony batt'e, *ib.* The rank of prætor and the faſces are granted to Octavius through Cicero's means, *ib.* The conſuls fall in the action, and their troops are incorporated with Cæſar's, *ib.* Antony being beaten, the ſenate endeavours to draw young Cæſar's troops from him, *ib.* Cæſar perſuades Cicero to give him his intereſt for the conſulſhip, and afterwards caſts him off and takes another colleague, *ib.* The triumvirate is formed between Antony, Lepidus, and Octavius, 323. They proſcribe two hundred perſons, *ib.* Cæſar contends for Cicero a while; but upon Antony giving up his uncle L. Cæſar, and Lepidus agreeing to put his brother Paulus in the liſt, Cicero is ſacrificed, *ib.* The diſtreſſful movements of Cicero and his brother Quintus, under the terrors of proſcription, *ib.* They part, 324. Quintus and his ſon are betrayed by his ſervants to the aſſaſſins, *ib.* Cicero is carried to his country-houſe at Aſtyra, where he goes on board a veſſel, and coaſts along to Circæum, *ib.* Though he has a favourable wind, he puts to ſhore, and after various perplexing movements, ſeeks the ſea again, *ib.* Omens of his death, 324, 325 The aſſaſſins come up, amongſt whom was Popilius, whom he had defended when under proſecution for parricide, 325. He ſtretches his neck out of the litter, and Herennius gives him the fatal blow. *ib.* Dies in the ſixty-fourth year of his age, 326. His head and hands are faſtened up over the roſtra by Antony, *ib.* What Auguſtus ſaid of Cicero, to one of his

his own grandſons, *ib.* Auguſtus takes the ſon of Cicero for his colleague in the conſulſhip, and under his auſpices public diſhonour is done to the memory of Antony, *ib.*

Cicero, Quintus, v. 293, 309, 324. Beſieged by Ambiorix, iv. 353. Cæſar relieves him, *ibid.*

Cicero, the ſon, v. 298, 326, vi. 73—75.

Cichereus, i. 206.

Citaris, or turban, vi. 135.

† *Cilicia*, Cicero's behaviour there, as proconſul, v. 311.

Cilician pirates, their ſtrength and audacity, iv. 142, 143, 144. Reduced by Pompey, 148.

Cilles, Ptolemy's general, defeated and taken priſoner by Demetrius, v. 337.

Cimber, Metilius Metellus, or M. Tullius Cimber lays hold on Cæſar's robe, which is a ſignal for the reſt to ſtrike, iv. 398.

† *Cimbri* and Teutones invade Italy with an army of three hundred thouſand men, iii. 125.

Cimbri, whence their name, iii. 125. Invade the country of the Norici, 130. Defeat Cæpio, iv. 3. Their order of battle, iii. 143. Their firſt ranks faſtened to each other with cords, 145. The deſperate behaviour of their women upon defeat, *ib.*

† *Cimmerian* Boſphorus, paſſed by the Amazons, i. 28.

† *Cimmerians*, paſs from the borders of the northern ocean by the Paulus Mæotis, into Aſia Minor, iii. 126. Their original country ſo dark and diſmal, that Homer thence took the image of hell, 126.

Cimon, the ſon of Miltiades and Hegeſipyla, daughter to king Olorus, iii. 275. In his youth not unlike his grandfather who got the title of Coalemos for his ſtupidity and indiſcretion, 276. Yet has ſomething generous and ſincere in his behaviour, *ib.* Accuſed of a criminal commerce with his ſiſter Elpinice, *ib.* Callias marries Elpinice, and pays her father's fine, 277. Cimon has his miſtreſſes Ariſteria and Mneſtra, *ib.* Marries Iſodice, the daughter of Euryptolemus, *ib.* His great attachment to her while ſhe lives, and ſorrow for her death, *ib.* Equal in courage to Miltiades, and in prudence to Themiſtocles; and an honeſter man than either of them, 278. One of the firſt to try the fortune of Athens at ſea, upon the invaſion of Xerxes, *ib.* Diſtinguiſhes himſelf in the battle of Salamis, *ib.* The people begin to be weary of Themiſtocles, and with pleaſure receive Cimon into the adminiſtration, *ib.* Ariſtides contributes to his advancement, *ib.* Commands at ſea for the Athenians, and draws the allies from Pauſanias, not by force, but by his obliging manners, 279. Defeats the Perſians in Thrace, and reduces their general Butes to ſuch extremity, that he burns the city of Eion, and periſhes in the flames, 280. Plants there a colony of Athenians, and erects

erects three marble hermæ in memory of his victory, 281. The inscriptions upon those hermæ, *ib.* Colonizes Amphipolis, 282. Takes Scyros, and clears the Ægean sea of pirates, *ib.* Discovers the remains of Theseus in Scyros, and carries them with great solemnity to Athens, 283. Games instituted at Athens on that occasion, *ib.* Cimon's talent for singing, 284. His division of the booty taken at Sestos and Byzantium, *ib.* His hospitality and bounty to the poor citizens of Athens, 285. Revives the memory of the golden age, 286. Tho' so kind to the people, yet is of aristocratic principles, *ib.* Opposes Ephialtes in his attempt to abolish the court of Areopagus, *ib.* His noble answer to Rhœsaces the persian, who offered him money, 287. He takes money and ships unmanned of the allies, instead of obliging them to serve in person, *ib.* This naturally gives the Athenians the superiority, *ib.* He reduces the king of Persia so effectually, that from Ionia to Pamphylia there was not a Persian standard to be seen, 288. Reduces the Phaselites, *ib.* Defeats the Persian fleet in the river Eurymedon and takes two hundred ships, 289. Beats the Persian land-forces the same day, *ib.* Meets the Phœnician reinforcement, and takes all their ships, 290. Obliges the king of Persia, by treaty, not to come within the Chelidonian islands with his ships, nor within a day's journey of the Grecian sea with his land-forces, *ib.* With the treasure he brings home, builds the wall on the south side of the citadel, and performs other public works, 291. Reduces all the Thracian Chersonesus, *ib.* Defeats the Thracians, and secures the gold mines to the Athenians, *ib.* Is accused for not invading Macedonia when he had so fair an opportunity, *ib.* Acquitted through Elpinice's application to Pericles, 292. Pericles, during the absence of Cimon, contracts the jurisdiction of the Areopagites, and brings almost all causes before the people, *ib.* Cimon, at his return, attempts to restore that jurisdiction, but in vain, 293. The friendship that subsisted between Cimon and the Lacedæmonians, *ib.* The names he gave his sons, *ib.* The Lacedæmonians, after the earthquake, apply to the Athenians for succours against the Helots and Messenians, 294, 295. Cimon marches to their relief, 295. His adventure on his return, at Corinth, *ib.* The Lacedæmonians call in the Athenians a second time, and afterwards dismiss their troops without employing them, *ib.* The Athenians banish Cimon, and declare war against the Lacedæmonians, 296. Cimon's friends distinguish themselves in the battle of Tanagra, and he is recalled, 296, 297. He makes peace between the Athenians and Lace-

Lacedæmonians, 297. Fits out a fleet of two hundred ſail, to carry the war a ſecond time into Egypt and Cyprus, *ib.* Preſages of his death, 298. Defeats the Perſian fleet on the Aſiatic coaſt, *ib.* Conceives a deſign to overturn that whole empire, 299. Caſts anchor before Cyprus, *ib.* Sends perſons to conſult the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, *ib.* The god declares that Cimon is already with him, *ib.* He dies during the ſiege of Citium, *ib.* Had given orders that the officers ſhould ſail home with the fleet, and in the mean time conceal his death. *ib.* The laſt of the Grecian generals that did anything conſiderable againſt the barbarians, *ib.* His monument where, 300.

Cimonia, what, iii. 300.

Cineas, his converſation with Pyrrhus concerning happineſs, iii. 79. Sent by Pyrrhus to Rome with propoſals of peace, which are rejected, 85, 86. Calls the ſenate of Rome an aſſembly of kings, 87. Gives Fabricius an account of the Epicurean philoſophy, 88. Sent with other offers to Rome, 90. Sent into Sicily, 92.

Cincas Father of Thallus, v. 15.

Cingnius Varro, a friend of Nymphidius, vi. 211. Put to death by Galba, *ib.*

Cinna Lucius, though of the oppoſite party, named conſul by Sylla, upon a promiſe of being true to his intereſt, iii. 227. Forfeits his oath, *ib.* Driven out of Rome by Octavius, iii. 164. Hires a perſon to aſſaſſinate Pompey, and his father, iv. 120. Killed by one of his own officers, 121, 122.

Cinna, one of the conſpirators againſt Cæſar, iv. 401. vi. 68.

Cinna, Helvius, a poet, and friend of Cæſar's, dreams that Cæſar, after his death, invites him to ſupper, vi. 70. Goes to attend his obſequies, and being taken by the rabble for the other Cinna, is torn in pieces, *ib.*

† *Cios*, v. 22.

† *Circaeum*, iii. 157. v. 324.

Circe, i. 42.

† *Circeii*, ii. 188. iv. 389.

Circus Flaminius, iii. 355.

Circus Maximus, i. 60. *n.*

† *Cirraeatum*, a village in the territory of Arpinum, where Marius originally lived, iii. 115.

† *Cirrha*, i. 146, 208.

Ciſſus, and Ephialtes, impriſoned by Alexander, iv. 282.

Ciſſuſa, a fountain whoſe water was like wine; Bacchus ſaid to have been waſhed in it immediately after his birth, iii. 207.

† *Cithaeron* mount, v. 260.

† *Citium*, iii. 299.

Civic Crown, the reward amongſt the Romans for ſaving the life of a citizen, ii. 158.

Claelia ſwims the Tiber on horſeback, i. 267. An equeſtrian ſtatue of her in the Via Sacra, 268.

† *Clarius* river, i. 234.

† *Claros*, temple there plundered by the pirates, iv. 143.

† *Claſtidium*, ii. 363.

Claudia, daughter of Appius Claudius, betrothed to Tiberius,

berius Gracchus, v. 187.
Claudii, account of that family, i. 271.
Claudius, the emperor ſets earthen veſſels before Vinius after he had ſtolen one of plate, vi. 208.
Claudius, ſee *Appius*.
Clauſus, ſee *Appius*.
† *Clazomenæ*, iii. 392.
Claenatus, ſon of Cleomedon, v. 355.
Cleandridas Pericles bribes him to withdraw the Lacedæmonian forces, ii. 31. Is ſentenced to death, and flies from Lacedæmon, *ib.* Father of Gylippus, *ib.*
Cleanthes, his obſervation upon Socrates and Alcibiades, ii. 106.
Cleanthes, freedman and phyſician of Cato the Younger, v. 116.
Clearchus ſent ambaſſador by Philip to Thebes, v. 254.
Clearchus, the Lacedæmonian general, ordered to obey Cyrus, vi. 111. His over-cautious advice to Cyrus, 114. Ruins the whole affair by a bad diſpoſition of the Greeks, 115.
Clemency, a temple dedicated to that virtue, in honour of Cæſar, iv. 387.
Cleobis, and Biton, preferred in point of happineſs, by Solon, to Crœſus, i. 235.
Cleocritus compromiſes the diſpute between the Athenians and Spartans, as to erecting a trophy, ii. 440.
Cleodes, ſon of Hyllus, iii. 61.
Cleomantis the Lacedæmonian, one of Alexander's diviners, iv. 292.
Cleombrotus ſucceeds Ageſipolis, and is ſent with an army into Bœotia, ii. 329, 335. iv. 94. Killed in the battle of Leuctra, iv. 100. v. 140.
Cleombrotus, king of Sparta in the room of his father-in-law Leonidas, who is depoſed, v. 131. Takes refuge in the temple of Neptune, 135. His wife Chelonis, who had before attended her father in his baniſhment, now goes into exile with him, 137.
Cleomedes the Aſtypalenſian, account of his gigantic ſtrength, i. 85. Of his body's vaniſhing after his death, *ib.* The prieſteſs of Apollo calls him the laſt of the heroes, *ib.*
Cleomedon, fined by the Athenians, v. 355.
Cleomenes, the Athenian iii. 188.
Cleomenes the Spartan, one of the arbitrators between the Athenians and Megarenſians, i. 208.
Cleomenes, ſon of Leonidas, marries Agiatis the widow of Agis, v. 141. His character, *ib.* Diſſatisfied at the prevailing manners of Sparta, 142. Inſtructed in the ſtoic philoſophy by Sphærus, *ib.* Sounds Xenares about bringing back the Spartan conſtitution to its firſt principles, 143. Thinks war would furniſh the beſt opportunity for the execution of his deſigns, *ib.* Seizes Athenæum, 144. Watches the motions of Aratus, *ib.* He is recalled from Arcadia by the ephori, 145. Sent out again, *ib.* Takes Methydrium in the territories of Argos, *ibid.* The

The Achæans march againſt him with an army greatly ſuperior to his, under the command of Ariſtomachus, *ib.* Yet Aratus prevents their fighting, *ibid.* Cleomenes goes to the aſſiſtance of the Eleans againſt the Achaeans, and defeats the latter at Lycaeum, *ib.* Aratus makes a ſudden movement to Mantinea, and takes it, 146. Cleomenes recalls Archidamus from exile, who is ſoon after treacherouſly ſlain, *ib.* Bribes the ephori to permit him to renew the war, *ib.* Defeats the Achaeans near Leuctra, and kills Lyſiades, 147. Perſuades his father-in-law, Megiſtonus to join him in endeavouring to break the yoke of the ephori, and to procure an equal diviſion of lands, *ib.* Remarkable dream of one of the ephori in the temple of Paſiphae, *ib.* Cleomenes takes Heraea and Alſaea, two cities belonging to the Achæan league, 148. Returns ſuddenly with a ſmall party, and kills all the ephori, except one, *ib.* Ageſilaus, who was the ſurviving one, makes his appearance the next day, and is ſpared, 149. Cleomenes baniſhes eighty of the moſt obnoxious citizens, 150. His ſpeech to the people in juſtification of his proceedings, 150, 151. He ſurrenders his own eſtate into the public ſtock, 152. Divides the lands, *ib.* Fills up the number of citizens, *ib.* Forms the youth according to the diſcipline of Lycurgus, *ib.* Takes his brother Euclidas for his partner in the throne, *ib.* Ravages the territories of Megalopolis, without any oppoſition from the Achaeans, 153. Is a pattern of ſobriety, *ib.* What kind of table he kept for ſtrangers, 154. The Mantineans put themſelves under his protection, 155. He defeats the Achæans at Dymeæ, *ib.* Inſiſts on being appointed to the command of the league, 156. His ſickneſs breaks his meaſures, *ib.* Aratus, out of envy to Cleomenes, invites Antigonus into Peloponneſus, 157. Cleomenes declares war againſt the Achaeans, 159. Takes Pellene, Pheneum, and Penteleum. Comes upon Argos at the time of the Nemean games, and takes it, *ib.* Makes himſelf maſter of Cleonae and Phlius, 160. The Corinthians invite him into their city, 161. He inveſts the citadel, which was in the hands of the Achæans, *ib.* Fortifies the Onean mountains, 162. Antigonus, after ſeveral vain attempts, gets into Peloponneſus, by means of a defection of the Argives, *ib.* Cleomenes retires to defend Laconia, 163. His wife Agiatis dies, 164. Ptolemy promiſes him ſuccours, *ib.* His mother and children are ſent hoſtages into Ægypt, 165. He enfranchiſes a number of the Helots, *ib.* Makes a diverſion againſt the progreſs of the Macedonian arms, by ſurprizing Megalopolis, 166, 167. Makes two excurſions into the territories of Argos, 168,

168, 169. Is forced to action for want of money, 170. Defeated and ruined in the battle of Sellaſia, 171, 172. Takes ſhip at Gythium, 173. Antigonius behaves to the Spartans with great humanity, *ib.* Therycion exhorts Cleomenes to kill himſelf, and ſoon after ſets the example, 173, 174. Cleomenes's anſwer, 174. He ſails to Ægypt, where Ptolemy Euergetes treats him with ſome degree of generoſity, 175. Ptolemy's ſucceſſor, being a weak prince, ſoon begins to look upon him with an evil eye, 176. He deſires only a ſhip to carry him to Peloponneſus, and is refuſed it, 177. The great injury done him by Nicagoras the Meſſenian, 178. He is confined to his apartment, *ib.* He gets out of confinement by a ſtratagem, 179. After great exertions of valour in the ſtreets, he finds it impoſſible to eſcape, and therefore kills himſelf, 180, 181. His friends diſpatch themſelves with him, 181. Ptolemy puts his mother and children to death, 182.

Cleon, the Athenian, accuſes Pericles, ii. 47. His extravagant action in ſpeaking, iii. 383, v. 186. His character, iii. 382. Reflects on Nicias, and having the command given him, returns victorious, 381, 382. Troubleſome in the adminiſtration, 383. Is killed in battle, *ib.*

Cleon of Halicarnaſſus, compoſes an oration for Lyſander; containing arguments for making the kings of Sparta elective, iii. 202.

Cleon, the Byzantine, his eſteem for Phocion, v. 17.

Cleon, one of the tyrants of Sicyon, vi. 142.

† *Cleonae*, ii. 214. iii. 295. v. 33, 160. vi. 169.

Cleonice of Byzantium, comes with great reluctance towards the bed of Pauſanias king of Sparta and is inadvertently killed by him, iii. 279. He ſeeks means of expiation, and invokes her Ghoſt, 280. The anſwer ſhe made him, *ibid.*

Cleonymus, of Sparta, ſtirs up the Thebans againſt Demetrius; but on that prince's approach withdraws, v. 373. His wife unfaithful to him, iii. 100. Calls in Pyrrhus, and adviſes him to attack Sparta immediately; but that advice is not liſtened to, and Pyrrhus fails, 99—104.

Cleonymus, ſon of Sphodrias favourite of Archidamus, ſon of Ageſilaus, iv. 96. His valour and death, 100, 101.

Cleonymus, father of Leonidas, v. 123.

Cleopater commands for Aratus in Acrocorinth, vi. 183.

Cleopatra, daughter of Mithridates, and wife of Tigranes, iii. 332.

Cleopatra, Cæſar undertakes the Ægyptian war for her ſake, iv. 378. Cæſar ſends for her, and ſhe contrives to be conveyed to him in a carpet, *ib.* Cæſar reconciles her to her brother, 379. Her brother is loſt in an action upon the Nile, 380. Cæſar declares her queen of Egypt, and

and has a ſon by her named Cæſario, *ib.* Commanded to appear before Antony, v. 412. Her magnificent ſpirit, and the charms of her converſation, 413. On a party of fiſhing, puts a ſalt fiſh on Antony's hook, and tells him that kings, not fiſh, were his game, 416. Dreſſes in the habit of the goddeſs Iſis, 441. Supplies Antony with ſhips, money, and proviſions, 438, 442. Jealous of the honours paid Octavia at Athens, 439, 443. Antony loſes many friends on her account, 440. Perſuades Antony to fight Octavius by ſea, 449. Ruins Antony by her flight, for ſhe draws him after her, 452. Forms a ſcheme to retire into the fartheſt parts of the eaſt, 455. Makes an experiment of ſeveral poiſonous drugs, 458, and venomous animals, *ib.* Builds ſeveral monuments, as repoſitories of her wealth, 460. Draws up Antony half dead into one of them, 463. Seized by Proculeius, 464. Her intentions to ſtarve herſelf to death, 466. Auguſtus viſits her, 467. Her addreſs to the gods at Antony's tomb, 468, 469. Writes a letter to Auguſtus, *ib.* Dies, 470.

Cleopatra and Alexander, twins of Antony by Cleopatra, v. 423. Cleopatra marries prince Juba the hiſtorian, v. 471.

Cleopatra, wife of Philip, iv. 253.

Cleopatra, ſiſter to Alexander the Great, iv. 38, 44.

Cleophanes, the Athenian diſtinguiſhes himſelf by his bravery, v. 15.

Cleophantus, one of the ſons of Themiſtocles, i. 323.

Cleophylus, Homer's poems preſerved by his poſterity, i. 103.

Cleoptolemus, Antiochus marries his daughter in Eubœa, iii. 48.

Cleora, wife of Ageſilaus, iv. 88.

Clepſydra, a fountain in the citadel of Athens, v. 420. *n.*

Clidemus the hiſtorian, i. 17.

Clients, the people diſtinguiſhed into patrons and clients by Romulus, i. 59.

† *Climax*, cliffs of, under which Alexander marches by the Pamphylian ſea, iv. 244.

Clinias, a friend of Solon's, i. 216.

Clinias, father of Alcibiades, gains honour in the ſea-fight near Artemiſium, ii. 100. Falls in the battle of Coronea, *ib.*

Clinias, father of Aratus, one of the two chief magiſtrates of Sicyon, vi. 142. Killed by Abantidas, *ib.*

Cliſthenes, ſon of Alcmæon, expels the Piſiſtratidæ, and eſtabliſhes the democracy at Athens, ii. 4.

Clitomachus, v. 273.

† *Clitorians*, how Sous acquits himſelf of his promiſe to them, i. 99.

Clitus ſaves the life of Alexander, iv. 242. Ill omen while he is ſacrificing, 292. Behaves rudely to Alexander, and is killed by him, 293, 294. The king inconſolable for his death, 294.

Clitus carries Phocion and his friends as priſoners to Athens. v. 40.

Clitus, ſervant to Brutus, vi. 99.

Cloaks and hats of purple, the moſt honourable marks of the prince's regard amongſt the Macedonians, iv. 45.

Clodia, ſiſter of Clodius, and wife of Lucullus, divorced for injuring her huſband's bed, iii, 356. v. 303.

Clodia, called Quadrantaria, and why, v. 303.

Clodius, Publius raiſes a mutiny in the army againſt Lucullus, iii. 351. His infamous character, v. 303. Inſults Pompey, iv. 174. Intrigues with Pompeia, Cæſar's wife, or attempts at leaſt to do it, v. 302, 303. iv. 334. Accuſed of impiety and inceſt, but acquitted, v. 303, 304. Elected tribune of the people, 304. Cauſes great diſturbance in Rome, v. 64, 76, 304. For the ſake of being made tribune, deſcends from a patrician into a plebeian family, 79, 85. Sends Cato to Cyprus, v. 79. Proſecutes and baniſhes Cicero, 307. Burns Cicero's houſes, 308. Killed by Milo, 310.

Clodius Glaber, the prætor, ſent againſt Spartacus, iii. 428.

Clodius, the huſband of Fulvia, who afterwards was married to Antony, v. 399.

Clodius goes in diſguiſe from Lepidus's camp to Antony, v. 406.

Clodius Celſus, the Antiochian, his advice to Nymphidius, vi. 209.

Clodius Macer commands in Africa, vi. 203. Deliberates about aſſuming the imperial title, *ib.* Slain by Trebonianus, 211.

Clodones, a name of the Bacchanals, iv. 224.

Cloelia, ſee *Claelia*.

† *Cluſians*, beſieged by the Gauls, i. 344. The Roman ambaſſador, on that occaſion unjuſtly commits hoſtilities againſt the Gauls, 445.

Clymene, i. 37.

† *Cnacion*, a river in Sparta, near which the ſenate uſed to meet, called alſo Oenus, i. 107.

Cnæus. *See all the* CNEII *under their family names.*

† *Cnidus*, ii. 137. iii. 288.

† *Cnidians*, iv. 377.

Coalemos, a name given to Cimon, the grandfather of Cimon the Athenian general, iii. 276.

Cocceius, Otho's brother's ſon, vi. 246.

Cock, on what occaſion the Lacedæmonians offered one in ſacrifice, iv. 107. A golden cock carried on the point of a ſpear, vi. 116.

Cocles, ſee *Horatius*.

Codrus, i. 39. *n.* Solon deſcended from him, 197.

† *Coeloſyria*, given by Antony to Cleopatra, v. 423.

Coelia, wife of Sylla, divorced becauſe ſhe was barren, iii. 221.

Coelius, one of Carbo's officers, iv. 123.

Coelius the orator, v. 312. *n.*

Coffins, two of ſtone made for Numa, one for his body, and the other for his books, i. 186.

Cohorts, ſee Praetorian.

Coin, that of Perſia ſtamped with the figure of an archer; hence Ageſilaus ſays, he was driven

driven out of Asia by thirty thousand archers, iv. 83.
† *Colchis*, i. 31. iv. 156.
† *Colias*, i. 206.
Collatinus, Tarquinius, the husband of Lucretia, chosen consul, i. 245. Accused of favouring Tarquin, 251. Lays down the consulate, *ib.*
Colline Gate, iii. 254.
Colonies, the advantage of those sent out by Pericles, ii. 17.
† *Colonois*, a town so called, iii. 23. Probably should be written Coronis, *ib. n.*
† *Colophonians*, restored to liberty by Lucullus, iii. 305.
Colossus of Hercules, ii. 89.
Colt, sacrificed by the Thebans, ii. 338.
Colyttus, v. 248.
Comedy, the ancient, iii. 357. *n.* v. 344.
Comet, a large one appeared for seven nights after the death of Cæsar, iv. 401.
Comias, archon when Pisistratus erected his tyranny, i. 142.
Cominius, the consul, besieges Corioli, ii. 163. Beats the Volscians, 165. Speaks in praise of Caius Marcius, *ib.* Gives him the surname of Coriolanus, 167.
Comitium, a place in Rome where elections were held, and other public business transacted, i. 54. Why so called, 71.
† *Commagene*, iv. 169.
Community of goods in Saturn's time; Cimon's liberality resembled it, iii. 286.
Companies, the people of Rome distributed into companies by Numa, according to their trades, i. 178.
Comparisons and Similes; Of the forming of a commonwealth to the stopping and uniting of small bodies in the water, iii. 9. The spirit of contention in states compared to the force of distempers in the human body, iii. 22. Of Pyrrhus to a gamester, iii. 98. Of ambitious men to Ixion, v. 120. Subjects to be chosen for the mind as colours are for the eye, ii. 2. The operations of a statesman compared to those of a physician, ii. 23. The passions of the soul to the strings of a musical instrument, 24. The rage of tyranny dissolved in the ardour of youthful indulgences, as iron is softened in the fire, vi. 6. The precipitate steps of returning freedom, compared to the rash use of returning health, vi. 34. The severe, though necessary, measures of administration, compared to the bandages of surgeons, iii. 368. Alcibiades compared to the land of Egypt, iii. 383. Of biography to portrait painting, iv. 223. Of the Macedonian army, after the death of Alexander, to Polyphemus after his eye was put out, vi. 198, 199. The great councils of a state compared to anchors, i. 221. The constituent parts of an army, to those of the human body, ii. 314. vi. 198. Over-cautious generals to timorous physicians, ii. 392. The Spartan Phalanx, to a fierce animal erecting his bristles, ii. 436.

Concave mirrours, the veſtal virgins recovered fire by them when theirs happened to be extinguiſhed, i. 165.

Conception and delivery ſuppoſed to be aſſiſted by being ſtruck with thongs in the feaſt of the Lupercalia; ſee *Lupercalia*.

Concord, a temple built to her, i. 379. v. 227.

Connidas, tutor to Theſeus, i. 5.

Conon takes an unfair advantage, with reſpect to the public, of Solon's friendſhip for him. i. 216.

Conon, the Athenian general, defeated by Lyſander, at Ægos Potamos, iii. 183. Defeats the Spartans near Cnidus, vi. 129. Kills their admiral Piſander, iv. 85. Rebuilds the long walls of Athens with the Perſian money, iv. 92.

Conopion burns the body of Phocion, v. 43.

Conſcience, terrors of conſcience upon Marius, iii. 169. On Pauſanias, 279.

Conſidius tells Cæſar he is ſecure in the armour of old age, iv. 341.

Conſpiracy againſt Cæſar, vi. 61, 62. Of Catiline, iv. 332. v. 67, 286.

Conſualia, a feaſt amongſt the Romans, i. 63.

Conſuls when one of them was firſt choſen out of the plebeians, i. 257. *n*.

Conſus, the god of counſel, whoſe altar Romulus pretended to find under ground, i. 60. Kept covered, except during the equeſtrian games, *ib*.

† *Coos*, ii. 137.

Copillus, chief of the Tectoſagae, taken priſoner by Sylla, iii. 215.

Coponius, governor for the Romans in Carrae, iii. 459. Receives Craſſus into the town after his defeat, *ib*.

Corcyne, Ariadne's nurſe, i. 20.

† *Corcyra*, an iſland of conſiderable ſtrength, ii. 39. Pyrrhus gains it by marriage, iii. 71. The diſpute between its inhabitants and the city of Corinth, determined by Themiſtocles, i. 312.

† *Corduba*, iv. 343.

Cordylio, v. 54.

Core, daughter of Aidoneus king of the Moloſſians, i. 35.

† *Corfinium*, iv. 364.

† *Corinth*, its regard for liberty, ii. 237. Why called the *Fetters of Greece*, iii. 39. vi. 157. Colonized by Caeſar, iv. 338.

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ate attention to his mother Volumnia, 159, 160. He lives in the ſame houſe with her after he is married, 160. The commons apply to the ſenate for relief againſt the uſurers, *ib.* Relief is promiſed them before the Sabine war, but denied after it; and Coriolanus, in particular, is ſevere againſt them, 160, 161. The people ſecede to the ſacred mount, 161. The ſenate ſend to them the moſt venerable men of their body, and at the head of them Menenius Agrippa who addreſſes them with a fable that brings them to temper, 161, 162. Before they are reconciled to the ſenate, they obtain tribunes to defend their rights, 162. The plebeians now readily give in their names for the war, *ib.* Corioli is taken chiefly by the valour of Marcius, 163. He haſtens to aſſiſt the conſul Cominius in the battle with the Volſcians, 164. The Volſcians are entirely defeated, 165. Cominius offers Marcius the tenth of the ſpoils, 166. Marcius refuſes the offer, and only deſires to have a Volſcian releaſed, to whom he was bound by the ties of hoſpitality, *ib.* Cominius gives him the ſurname of Coriolanus, 167. Some obſervations upon the Grecian and Roman names, 167, 168. Proviſions are extremely ſcarce in Rome, and the tribunes lay hold of that opportunity to incenſe the people againſt the ſenate, *ib.* The people of Velitræ having ſuffered by a peſtilential diſorder, deſire a colony from Rome; and the tribunes inveigh againſt the nobility for ſending one, 169, Coriolanus makes an inroad into the territories of Antium, with a body of volunteers, and brings off plenty of proviſions, 170. Stands for the conſulſhip, and the people, on the ſight of his ſcars, are inclined to ſerve him; but the great appearance of ſenators in his intereſt, awakes their jealouſy, 171. His reſentment thereupon, 172. A great quantity of bread-corn is brought to Rome, and Coriolanus propoſes the holding up its price, and adviſes the ſenate not to diſtribute that gratis, which was a preſent from Gelo, 173. His ſpeech on that occaſion, *ib.* The tribunes ſtir up the people, and ſummon Coriolanus to anſwer for the advice he had given, 174. A tumult enſues, 175. The conſuls and ſenate endeavour to appeaſe the people, *ib.* The tribunes inſiſt that Coriolanus ſhall anſwer to certain articles, *ib.* Inſtead of the ſubmiſſive language which the people expected, he makes a haughty ſpeech, 176. Sicinius pronounces ſentence of death againſt Coriolanus, *ib.* The patricians prevent the execution of that ſentence, *ib.* The patricians demand a legal trial for Coriolanus before the people, and Sicinius agrees to it, 177. The expedition againſt the Antiates intervenes, *ibid.* Appius Claudius oppoſes the ſenate's

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the Sabines, *ib.* and upon the Romans, 200. A temple is built to the *fortune of women, ib.* Tullus meditates the death of Coriolanus, 202. He is ſummoned to give an account of his conduct before the people of Antium; but his enemies, not permitting him to be heard, fall upon him and diſpatch him on the ſpot, *ib.* The Volſcians give him an honourable burial, 203. The Roman women are permitted to go into mourning for him, *ib.* The Volſcians quarrel with the Æqui, their friends and allies, about the choice of a general, *ib.* They fight a great battle with the Romans, in which Tullus falls, and they are reduced to the obedience of Rome, 204.

† *Corioli*, beſieged and taken by the Romans, ii. 163.

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Cornelia, daughter of Metellus Scipio, and widow of Publius Craſſus, married to Pompey, iv. 183. Her great accompliſhments, *ib.* Her ſad meeting with Pompey at Mitylene, 208. Charges Pompey's defeat on his connexions with her ill fortune, *ib.* Is an eye-witneſs of his tragical death, 214.

Cornelia daughter of Cinna, and Cæſar's firſt wife, iv. 325.

Cornelia, daughter of Scipio Africanus and mother of the Gracchi, v. 184. Her character, 185. Has opportunity to marry a king, and declines it, *ib.* Her care in the education of her ſons Tiberius and Caius, whom their father left very young, *ib.* Reproaches them with her being called the mother in law of Scipio rather than the mother of the Gracchi, 192. The ſtatue erected to her, and its inſcription, 213. The magnanimity of her behaviour on the untimely death of her ſons, 228. The honours paid her in her old age, *ib.*

Cornelius, one of Sylla's officers, bribed by Cæſar, during the proſcriptions, to let him eſcape, iv. 326.

Cornelius, Cneius, choſen by Marcellus, for his colleague, ii. 363.

Cornelius Cethegus, and Quintus Sulpicius, degraded from the prieſt's office for deficiency in point of ceremony, and an ominous accident, ii. 362.

Cornelius Coſſus commands as a military tribune, at a time when there were not conſuls, and has the honour of offering up the ſpoils called *Opima*, i. 65. Appointed dictator, i. 370.

Cornelius, Publius, i. 186.

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Cornelius, Caius, a diviner at Padua, announces there the beginning and iſſue of the battle of Pharſalia, iv. 377.

Cornelius, Dolabella, an admirer of Cleopatra, acquaints her with Auguſtus's deſign to remove her from the monument, v. 468.

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Cornelius Merula made conſul by Octavius in the room of Cinna, iii. 164.
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Cornelius Nepos, iii. 363.
Cornelius Laco, appointed captain of the prætorian bands, vi. 209.
Cornificius, Lucius, employed by Auguſtus to impeach Brutus, vi. 76.
Cornificius, one of Caeſar's lieutenants, iv. 373, 381.
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Coroebus the architect, ii 20.
† *Coronea*, ii. 28. iii. 209.
Corraeus father of Stratonice, the wife of Antigonus, v. 334.
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Corvinus, Valerius, ſix times conſul, iii. 147.
Corynetes, or the club-bearer, i. 8.
† *Cos*, iſle of, i. 201. iii. 305.
Coſconius, a man of praetorian dignity, killed by Caeſar's ſoldiers in a mutiny, iv. 381.
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† *Coſſa* and Narnia, colonized by the Romans, iii. 29.
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Cotta, Publius, what Cicero ſaid to him, v. 300.
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Cotys, king of Paphlagonia, joins Ageſilaus againſt the Perſians, iv. 77. Marries the daughter of Spithridates, *ib.*
Courage, a mild and unſuſpicious quality, vi. 134.
Cow with calf, a barbarous ſacrifice neceſſary for the widow who married before her time of mourning was expired, i. 168.
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Crane, the name of a dance inſtituted by Theſeus, i. 20.
Cranium a ſuburb of Corinth, iv. 239.
† *Cranon*, city of, v. 266, 341.
Craſſus, the Father of Piſo, vi. 220.
Craſſus, Marcus, his father had been honoured with the cenſorſhip and a triumph, iii. 417. He is brought up in a ſmall houſe with two brothers, *ib.* Takes care of a ſiſter-in-law and her children *ib.* Temperate and chaſte, yet accuſed of a criminal commerce with a veſtal virgin, *ib.* That accuſation a falſe one, *ib.* His principal vice covetouſneſs, *ib.* He improves an eſtate of three hundred talents to ſeven thouſand one hundred, 418. Makes great advantage of Sylla's proſcriptions, likewiſe of the fire:

fires which happened in Rome, *ib.* Keeps a number of ſlaves who were builders, but builds only one houſe for himſelf, *ib.* Breeds up ſlaves for every ſervice in life, in order for ſale, 419. Theſe bring him a greater revenue than his lands and ſilver mines, *ib.* His houſe is open to ſtrangers, *ib.* He lends money to his friends, without intereſt, but is ſtrict in demanding it at the day, *ib.* His invitations werechiefly to the commonpeople, 420. He cultivates the eloquence of the bar, defends every citizen that applies to him, and in all caſes comes prepared, *ib.* Returns the ſalutation of every Roman by name, *ib.* His knowledge of hiſtory extenſive, and he is not without a taſte of Ariſtotle's philoſophy; yet keeps the philoſopher, who is his guide and companion, in a condition juſt above ſtarving, *ib.* Cinna and Marius put the father and brother of Craſſus todeath, 421. Craſſus flies into Spain, and takes refuge in a cave by the ſea-ſide, in the lands of Vibius Pacianus, *ib.* Vibius ſupports him there for a conſiderable time, 422. On the death of Cinna, he raiſes forces in Spain, 423. Paſſes from thence into Africa, to Metellus Pius, and afterwards into Italy, where he ſerves under Sylla, *ib.* Sent by Sylla to levy troops amongſt the Marſi, *ib.* What Sylla ſaid to him, on his aſking for a guard, *ib.* He executes that, and other commiſſions, in an able manner, *ib.* The riſe of his competition with Pompey, 424. Suppoſed to have converted much of the plunder of Tuder to his own uſe, *ib.* Very ſerviceable to Sylla in the deciſive battle fought near Rome, *ib.* Makes the moſt unjuſt and rapacious uſe of Sylla's proſcriptions, *ib.* Sylla gives him up, *ib.* A flatterer, and very capable of being flattered; covetous, and hates covetous men, *ib.* Envies Pompey's rapid progreſs in glory, 425. By the pains he takes in the adminiſtration and good offices to his fellow-citizens, acquires an intereſt not inferior to that of Pompey, *ib.* Becomes ſecurity for Cæſar in the ſum of eight hundred and thirty talents, 426. Sacrifices bothhisattachments and reſentments to his intereſt *ib.* The gladiators war breaks out, 427. Spartacus has the chief conduct of it, *ib.* The character of Spartacus *ib.* By ſtratagem he eſcapes from a hill where he was beſieged, and defeats Clodius Glaber the prætor, 428. Is joined by numbers of herdſmen and ſhepherds, *ib.* Defeats the lieutenants of Varinus, and Varinus himſelf, *ib.* Intends to croſs the Alps, and ſettle in ſome private independency, but is prevented by his troops, 429. Makes his way in ſpite of the conſuls Gellios and Lentulus, *ib.* Beats Caſſius, who came againſt him with ten thouſand men, *ib.* Craſſus is ſent againſt him by the ſenate,

430. His lieutenant Mummius fights, contrary to orders, and is beaten by Spartacus, *ib.* He puniſhes that corps with decimation, *ib.* Spartacus retiresthroughLucania to the ſea, *ib.* Hires ſomeCilician pirates to tranſport him and his troops into Sicily; but they take his money and deceive him, *ib.* Entrenches himſelf in the peninſula of Rhegium, 431. Craſſus builds a wall acroſs the Iſthmus, *ib.* Spartacus gets over it in a ſnowy and tempeſtuous night, *ib.* Craſſus repents of his having written to the ſenate for farther aſſiſtance, *ib.* Comes to an action with the enemy, in which he kills above twelve thouſand of them, 432. Sends two of his officers againſt Spartacus, who had retired towards the mountains of Petelia, *ib.* Thoſe officers are put to flight, *ib.* This advantage proves the ruin of Spartacus; for his troops inſiſt upon coming to a deciſive battle, *ib.* Craſſus being informed that Pompey was approaching, haſtens to meet the enemy, 433. A battle enſues, in which Spartacus, after great exertions of valour, is ſlain, *ib.* Pompey meets a number of the enemy who had eſcaped out of the field, and puts them to the ſword; after which he takes to himſelf the honour of finiſhing the war, *ib.* Craſſus has an ovation granted him, 434. Craſſus ſolicits Pompey's intereſt in his application for the conſulſhip, and obtains it, *ib.* They are appointed conſuls together, *ib.* They diſagree in every thing, *ib.* Nothing of note is performed, except Craſſus's conſecrating the tenths of his eſtate to Hercules, and his entertaining the people at ten thouſand tables, *ib.* They are reconciled by Aurelius, a Roman knight, who alleges a command for it from Jupiter, *ib.* Craſſus makes the firſt advances, 435. In his cenſorſhip attempts to make Egypt tributary to the Romans, but is prevented by his colleague Catulus, *ib.* Suſpected of having ſome concern in the conſpiracy of Catiline, *ib.* That ſuſpicion probably groundleſs, *ib. n.* Craſſus is at enmity with Cicero, but at length reconciled to him through the mediation of his ſon Publius, who was a great admirer of thateloquent man, 436. Cæſar comes to Rome to ſolicit the conſulſhip, and forms the famous triumvirate, *ib.* In order to the prolonging, Cæſar's government of Gaul, Pompey and Craſſus were to be conſuls again, 437. They are interrogated in full ſenate as to their intentions, and Craſſus anſwers with more moderation than Pompey, 438. Domitius is encouraged by Cato to oppoſe them in the election; but they carry it by violence, *ib.* Drive the oppoſite party out of the forum while Cæſar is continued five years more in his government, and the Spains and Syria are decreed to Pompey and Craſſus, 439. Craſſus indulges a ſanguine and vain ambition of conqueſt

queſt, *ib.* The tribune Ateius threatens to oppoſe him in his deſigns againſt the Parthians, *ib.* He prevails with Pompey to conduct him out of Rome, 440. Ateius meets him at the gate, by virtue of his office commands him to ſtop, and utters the moſt horrid execrations againſt him, *ib.* Craſſus, taking his voyage in the winter, loſes a number of his ſhips, *ib.* Pays his reſpects to Deiotarus in Galatia, *ib.* Throws a bridge over the Euphrates with eaſe, 441. Reduces Zenodotia and all Meſopotamia, *ib.* Suffers himſelf to be ſaluted *Imperator*, for the taking of a town, *ib.* Garriſons the towns, and returns into Syria, to winter, *ib.* His ſon arrives with a thouſand horſe ſent by Cæſar, *ib.* His error in not ſtrengthening himſelf by the acquiſition of Babylon and Seleucia, 441. Behaves in Syria more like a trader than a general, *ib.* Calculates the revenues of the cities, and weighs the treaſures in the temple of Atargatis at Hierapolis, 442. Omen of his ruin, *ib.* What paſſed between him and the ambaſſadors of Orodes king of Parthia, *ib.* Alarming accounts are brought of the Parthian manner of fighting, and Caſſius and others deſire Craſſus to deliberate, 444. Artavaſdes, king of Armenia, arrives at the Roman camp, offers him large ſuccours, and adviſes him to march into Parthia by the way of Armenia, *ib.* Craſſus rejects his advice, and the Armenian departs, *ib.* Other ill omens, 444, 445. The forces with which he paſſed the Euphrates, 445. Caſſius adviſes him to ſecure his troops in ſome fortified town, till he had an account of the enemy which might be depended upon; or elſe to march along the river till he reached Seleucia, *ib.* 446. Ariamnes, an artful Arabian, draws Craſſus into an immenſe plain, *ib.* Surena marches againſt him while Orodes lays waſte Armenia, 447. Surena's opulence and great authority, *ib.* Ariamnes leads Craſſus into a vaſt ſea of ſand, 448. Artavaſdes by his envoys, deſires Craſſus to go and drive Orodes out of Armenia firſt; or at leaſt to keep to the hills, where he might not be expoſed to the Parthian cavalry, *ib.* The infatuated Roman gives an anſwer full of reſentment, *ib.* Caſſius reproaches Ariamnes in private, with his perfidy, *ib.* The Arabian anſwers him in an artful manner, and ſoon after withdraws, with the conſent of Craſſus, 449. Craſſus has intelligence of the approach of the Parthians, and is greatly diſconcerted, *ib.* The diſpoſition of his forces, 450. Comes to the river Baliſſus, and is deſired by many of his officers to paſs the night there; but he marches forward with precipitation, *ib.* Surena conceals his main force, behind the advanced guard, *ib.* The horrid noiſe by which the Parthians excite their

their men to action, and inſpire the enemy with terror, 451. They attack the Romans on all ſides, and with their arrows drive the cavalry and light armed back upon the legions, *ib.* The arrows do great execution on the legions, which were drawn up in a cloſe ſquare, 452. Craſſus orders his ſon, with a ſelect party, to get up with the enemy, *ib.* They fly, and young Craſſus purſues with great ardour, 453. They face about, and make dreadful havock of the Romans, *ib.* Publius fails in his attempt upon the heavy armed Parthian horſe, with his light armed Gauls, 454. Has an opportunity to retire, but ſcorns to leave ſo many brave men dying for his ſake, 455. Deſires his armour bearer to diſpatch him, *ib.* The principal officers follow his example, *ib.* The Parthians bring the head of Publius, and ſhew it in an inſulting manner to his father, 456. The Romans are ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at the ſight, *ib.* Craſſus behaves with uncommon magnanimity, *ib.* His ſpeech on that occaſion, 457. The Parthians make a great ſlaughter amongſt the remaining troops, *ib.* Craſſus gives himſelf up to deſpair, 458. The Romans decamp in the night, under the conduct of Octavius and Caſſius, *ib.* Ignatius calls at Carræ, and then makes the beſt of his way to Zeugma, with three hundred horſe, 459. Coponius, governor of Carræ, goes to meet Craſſus, and conducts his army into the town, *ib.* The Parthians in the morning diſpatch the wounded Romans and the ſtragglers, *ib.* Surena ſends perſons to Carræ, with inſidious propoſals of a peace, 460, but ſoon advances to beſiege the place, *ib.* The Romans reſolve upon flight, and Craſſus takes Andromachus, another traitor, for his guide, *ib.* Caſſius diſcovers the treachery of Andromachus, returns to Carræ, and from thence eſcapes into Syria, 461. At day-light Craſſus regains the road, and gets poſſeſſion of a hill connected with the mountains of Sinnaca, *ib.* Surena has recourſe to art, and the Romans force Craſſus to treat, 462. He proteſts againſt that violence, 463. Surena tells him he muſt ſign the treaty on the banks of the Euphrates, *ib.* Craſſus is mounted upon a Parthian horſe, and the grooms drive him on, 464. The Romans make reſiſtance and Craſſus is ſlain in the ſcuffle, by a Parthian named Pomaxaethres, *ib.* The number of Romans killed in this war is twenty thouſand, and ten thouſand are made priſoners, *ib.* Surena ſends the head and hand of Craſſus to Orodes in Armenia, 465. He pretends, notwithſtanding, to bring Craſſus alive into Seleucia, *ib.* His farcical proceſſions, *ib.* His obſervations before the ſenate of Seleucia on the obſcene books found in the baggage of the Romans, *ib.*

Orodes and Artavaſdes are reconciled, 466. The Bacchæ of Euripides acted before them, *ib.* A comical incident on the preſenting of Craſſus's head, *ib.* Orodes is murdered by his ſon Phraates, 467.

Craſſus, Publius, ſon of Marcus Craſſus, goes into mourning on Cicero's baniſhment, iii. 436. Reconciles Cicero and his father, *ib.* His ſpirit and valour in the Parthian war, 454. His behaviour when ſurrounded, 455. Commands his armour-bearer to kill him, *ib.* The Parthians cut off his head, put it on the point of a ſpear, and inſultingly aſk Craſſus, who could be the father of ſo gallant a young man, 456.

Craſſus, Publius Licinius, father to the wife of Caius Gracchus, v. 207.

Craſſus, the application of Fabius Maximus to him, ii. 92, 93.

Craſtinus, or *Craſſinus* Caius, ſaluted by Cæſar in the morning of the battle of Pharſalia, iv. 203. Begins the action, *ib.* Falls, after prodigious efforts of valour, 204.

Craterus, his collection of Athenian decrees, iii. 290.

Craterus, and Antipater, two of Alexander's ſucceſſors, after having reduced Greece, paſs into Aſia, iv. 39. He is greatly beloved by the Macedonians, 40. He and Neoptolemus march againſt Eumenes, 41. Both killed in the enſuing action, 42, 43. Diſputes which had happened long before between Craterus and Hephaeſtion, 288. Account of his going from Aſia into Greece, v. 29.

Crates, the philoſopher, perſuades Demetrius to raiſe the ſiege of Athens, v. 381.

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† *Cremona*, vi. 236.

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† *Cretans*, their ſimple and temperate way of living, i. 115. From them Lycurgus drew his model, *ib.* Their deceit, iii. 196. Their archers, v. 147.

† *Crete*, the tribute the ancient Athenians paid to it, i. 13.

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† *Crimeſus*, river, ii. 240.

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† *Crommyon*, a wild ſow killed there by Theſeus, i. 9.
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† *Crotonians*, part of the ſpoils taken at Arbela, ſent them by Alexander, iv. 272.
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† *Cruſtumenium*, i. 66.
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† *Cteſium*, iii. 282.
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† *Cumæans*, iv. 393. *et n.*
† *Cunaxa*, battle of. See *Battle.*
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† *Cures*, the capital of the Sabines, i. 71. Thence the Romans called Quirites, *ib.*
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† *Cuſſaeans*, almoſt the whole nation ſacrificed to the manes of Hephæſtion, iv. 319.
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† *Cynoſcephalæ*, i. 30. iii. 36.
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† *Damaſcus*, ſurrendered to Alexander, iv. 254.
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† *Danube*, ii. 268. Water brought from thence to the repoſitories of the king of Perſia, to ſhew the extent of his dominions, iv. 275.

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† *Dardanus* in Troas, iii. 246.

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† *Daſſaretii*, their country, iii. 31.

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† *Delium*, ii. 107. iii. 209, 379.
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† *Delos*, i. 20. ii. 17. iii. 375.
† *Delphi*, i. 17, *et paſſim*.
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† *Demetrias*, iii. 39. v. 357, 389. vi. 74.

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from the ſiege of Halicarnaſſus, 338. Antigonus and Demetrius form the deſign of ſetting Athens free from the yoke of Caſſander and Ptolemy, 339. Demetrius ſails thither with five thouſand talents of ſilver and two hundred and fifty ſhips, and, upon proclaiming liberty, is received with joy, *ib.* He gives Demetrius the Phalerean, who commanded there for Caſſander, a ſafe conduct to Thebes, 340. Surrounds the fort of Munychia with a ditch and rampart, and ſails to Megara, where Caſſander had another garriſon, *ib.* His adventure with Crateſipolis near Patrae, *ib.* He diſlodges the garriſon of Megara, and declares the city free, 341. His attention to Stilpo the philoſopher, *ib.* Returns to the ſiege of Munychia, takes and demoliſhes it, *ib.* Enters Athens at the requeſt of the citizens, re-eſtabliſhes the commonwealth, promiſes them a large ſupply of wheat, and timber enough to build a hundred gallies, *ib.* Their extreme ſervility and adulation to Demetrius and Antigonus, 341, 342. Stratocles the principal inſtrument of that profane adulation, *ib.* The Gods announce their diſpleaſure at this profaneneſs, 343, 344. Dromoclides finiſhes all by a decree that the Athenians ſhould conſult the oracle of Demetrius, 344. Demetrius marries Eurydice, a deſcendant of the antient Miltiades, 345. An account of his marrying Phila, the daughter of Antipater, *ib.* Has more wives and miſtreſſes than any Grecian prince of his time, *ib.* Defeats Menelaus, the brother of Ptolemy, at Cyprus, 346. Fights a great battle at ſea with Ptolemy himſelf, and beats him, *ib.* Ptolemy flies with eight ſhips only, *ib.* On this occaſion the celebrated Lamia falls into the hands of Demetrius, 347. The city of Salamis, and the land-forces of Ptolemy, are ſurrendered to him, *ib.* He ſets the priſoners free, *ib.* Sends twelve hundred ſuits of armour to the Athenians, *ib.* Sends Ariſtodemus to his father, with the news of his victory, *ib.* Ariſtodemus trifles vilely with Antigonus's impatience; but being the firſt to ſalute him king, the people accept the title, 347, 348. Antigonus ſends the diadem alſo to Demetrius, 348. The Ægyptians, on this occaſion, give Ptolemy the title of king, *ib.* Lyſimachus and Seleucus likewiſe aſſume it, *ib.* Antigonus miſcarries in an expedition againſt Ptolemy, 349. Being now little ſhort of eighty, leaves the military department to his ſon, *ib.* Takes no offence at his ſon's debaucheries, 349, 350. Demetrius has a fertile invention in mechanics, and there is ſomething peculiarly great both in the conſtruction of his ſhips and engines, 350, 351. Goes to war with the Rhodians, on account of their alliance with Ptolemy, 352. In the courſe of it, brings

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hundred talents, from Quinda, which had been the property of his father, 365. Meets Seleucus at Oroſſus, and they entertain each other in a princely manner, *ib.* Demetrius ſeizes the province of Cilicia, *ib.* Is contracted to Ptolemais, the daughter of Ptolemy, *ib.* Seleucus demands Cilicia of him; and on his refuſing that, inſiſts on having the cities of Tyre and Sidon, *ib.* Demetrius puts ſtronger garriſons in thoſe cities, 366. His operations before Athens, which was now in the poſſeſſion of the tyrant Lachares, *ib.* He reduces it by famine, 367. Pardons the Athenians, and gives them a large ſupply of bread-corn, *ib.* In the joy of their hearts, they deliver up to him the Piraeus and Munychia, 368. He puts a garriſon likewiſe in the Muſeum, *ib.* Forms a deſign upon Lacedaemon, and defeats Archidamus; but is called from that ſcheme by news of the loſs of his cities in Aſia, and of all Cyprus except Salamis, *ib.* The troubles in Macedonia call him thither, 369. He eſtabliſhes himſelf in that country after having killed Alexander, the ſon of Caſſander, 370. Ptolemy releaſes the wife and children of Demetrius, 371. Eraſiſtratus, phyſician to Seleucus, diſcovers that Antiochus is deſperately in love with Stratonice, and Seleucus gives her up to him, and declares them king and queen of the Upper Provinces, 371, 372. Demetrius, whoſe dominions were now very extenſive, takes Thebes, and reduces the reſt of Boeotia, 373. Makes a moderate uſe of his victory, *ib.* During an expedition of his into Thrace, the Boeotians revolt again, *ib.* He leaves his ſon Antigonus to beſiege Thebes, and marches againſt Pyrrhus, who had over-run all Theſſaly, *ib.* Pyrrhus retires, 374. Demetrius returns to the ſiege of Thebes, *ib.* Takes it again, and puts only thirteen of the citizens to death, *ib.* The Ætolians, being in poſſeſſion of the paſſes to Delphi, he celebrates the Pythian games at Athens, *ib.* Marches againſt the Ætolians, 375. Leaves Pantauchus, in Ætolia, and moves againſt Pyrrhus, *ib.* Pyrrhus falls upon Pantauchus, and defeats him, *ib.* The Macedonians admire the valour of Pyrrhus, and deſpiſe Demetrius for his vanity of dreſs, *ib.* Extraordinary inſtance of that vanity, *ib.* They are offended alſo at his diſſolute life, and difficulty of acceſs, 376. He throws the petitions of the people into the river, *ib.* During his ſickneſs at Pella, Pyrrhus enters Macedonia, and advances as far as Edeſſa, 377. He comes to terms with Pyrrhus, *ib.* Makes great preparations for recovering all his father's dominions, *ib.* The vaſt ſize of his gallies, 378. The kings attack him in ſeveral quarters, *ib.* Pyrrhus takes Beroea, and the Macedonians revolt to him, 379.

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† *Euphrates* River, iii. 335.

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† *Falerii* beſieged by the Romans, i. 338. The ſchoolmaſter's treachery, and how he was puniſhed by Camillus, *ib.*

† *Faliſci*, i. 329, 337. v. 212.

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Fannius, one of the friends of Tiberius Gracchus, v. 188.

Fannius, Caius, attains the conſulate through the intereſt of Caius Gracchus, v. 216. Oppoſes Caius Gracchus, *ib.*

Fathers, the law that impowered them to ſell their children, corrected in ſome reſpect by Numa, i. 178.

Father of his country, Cicero the firſt that was honoured with that title, v. 296.

Faunus, the demi-god, fable of his

his being taken, together with Picus, by Numa, and of Numa's learning charms and other ſecrets of them, i. 175. Suppoſed to have married the *Bona Dea*, iv. 334.

Favonius, Marcus, his witticiſms on Pompey, iv. 198. Pompey fights in conſequence of the raillery of Favonius and other officers, and is beaten, 199, 205. He flies with Pompey, and treats him with great reſpect, 207. Is a friend and zealous imitator of Cato, v. 91. Oppoſes, in Cato's abſence, the decrees of the ſenate in favour of Cæſar, but in vain. Is choſen ædile, *ib.* 92. Brutus ſounds him as to the conſpiracy, againſt Cæſar, vi. 62. His adventure with Brutus and Caſſius, 83.

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Fear. Theſeus ſacrifices to it as a god, i. 29. Alexander does the ſame iv. 267. The temple of Fear, and its worſhip, v. 149. A ſanguinary paſſion in tyrants, vi. 134.

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Feaſt of the Latins, i. 331.

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Feaſt of the Nonæ Caprotinæ, celebrated by the women in the Goats-marſh, i. 87, 88.

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Feaſt of the Metoecia, See *Metoecia*.

Feaſt of Boedromia. See *Boedromia*.

Februata, the feaſt of Lupercalia anciently ſo called, i. 74.

Feciales, an order of prieſts inſtituted by Numa, i. 169, 345. Their office to act as heralds, to declare war and peace, *ib.*

† *Ferentum*, iii. 84.

Feretrius, Jupiter, whence the term, ii. 366.

†*Fidenae*, in what manner taken by Romulus, i. 78.

Figs forbidden to be exported out of Attica, i. 229.

Figs of Africa, ii. 490.

Figs of Tuſculum, iv. 198.

Fimbria, beſieges Mithridates in Pitana, from whence Mithridates makes his eſcape by ſea, iii. 305. Invites Lucullus to his aſſiſtance, *ib.* Aſſaſſinates Flaccus, iii. 246. His men deſert him, and he kills himſelf, 247, 248.

Fimbrians, the untractable bands that mutinied againſt Fimbria, iii. 310.

Fire. The ſacred fire, attended by the veſtals at Rome, i. 76. The holy fire at Athens and Delphi, guarded by widows, 164. To be lighted by the ſun-beams at Rome, in caſe of its happening to be extinguiſhed, 165. Called *Veſta* and *Unity* by the Pythagoreans, 167. Worſhipped as the firſt principle of all things, 350. An emblem of purity, 164.

Fire-hearth, ſacred to the domeſtic gods, iv. 298.

† *Firmians*, a company of brave men who attended Cato the Cenſor in his operations againſt Antiochus, ii. 471.

Flaccus, Valerius. See *Valerius*.

Flaccus the conſul marches againſt Sylla, iii. 241. Aſſaſſinated by Fimbria, 246, 310.

Flaccus, Hordeonius, ſent by Galba to ſucceed Virginius, vi. 207. The army refuſe to take the oath of allegiance to Galba, which Flaccus propoſes, 219.

Flamen Quirinalis inſtituted by Numa, i. 159.

Flamen, whence ſo called, i. 159, 160.

Flaminius, Caius, the conſul, raſhly fights Hannibal near the Thraſymenian lake, and is killed in the action, ii. 60.

Flaminius, Caius Quintius, the ſame with the former, during his conſulate defeats the Gauls, ii. 59, 361. Named general of horſe to Minucius the dictator, and diſqualified becauſe a rat was heard to cry while he was naming him, ii. 362.

Flaminius, Titus Quintius, or Quinctius, jealous of the glory of Philopoemen, iii. 18. Quick both to reſent an injury, and to do a ſervice, 28. A legionary tribune under Marcellus in the war with Hannibal, 29. Appointed governor of Tarentum and its dependencies, *ib.* and chief director of the colonies ſent to Narnia and Coſſa, *ib.* Offers himſelf a candidate for the conſulſhip without aſcending by the previous ſteps, *ib.* Two of the tribunes oppoſe him, *ib.* The ſenate refer the matter to the people, and Flaminius is elected conſul, though not yet thirty years old, 30. Macedonia and the war with Philip falls to his lot, *ib.* This a happy circumſtance for Rome, becauſe the forming a connexion with Greece required a man of his temper and abilities, *ib.* Finds that his predeceſſors had entered Macedonia too late in the ſeaſon, and remedies that defect, 30, 31. On his arrival in Epirus, finds Publius Villius encamped over-againſt Philip, who had long been defending the fords of the Apſus, 31. As a paſſage there ſeemed impracticable, he is adviſed to go through Daſſaretis along the Lycus, *ib.* But he does not chuſe to remove too far from the ſea, leſt he ſhould be in want of proviſions, 32. Reſolves to force his way up the

the mountains, 32. Sharp conteſts enſue, *ib.* Some ſhepherds diſcover to him a winding way neglected by the enemy, *ib.* He ſends a tribune with four thouſand men up that way, *ib.* Attacks the Macedonians, when he believed the tribune had gained the top, *ib.* The Macedonians perceiving the party at the top of the hill, take to flight, 33. Flaminius traverſes Epirus with good order and diſcipline, *ib.* As ſoon as he enters Theſſaly, it declares for him, *ib.* The Achæans renounce their alliance with Philip, and declare for the Romans, 34. Pyrrhus's ſaying concerning the Romans, *ib.* Flaminius and Philip come to an interview, in which the Roman inſiſts that Philip ſhould withdraw his garriſons from the Grecian cities; which he refuſes, *ib.* The reſt of Greece declares for the Romans, *ib.* The magiſtrates of Thebes come to meet Flaminius, and he enters the city with them, 35. Bœotia takes part with the Romans, *ib.* Flaminius ſends his agents to Rome to procure the continuation of his commiſſion, *ib.* Meets Philip near Scotuſa, and defeats him entirely in a pitched battle at Cynoſcephalæ, 36, 37. The battle deſcribed, *ib.* Philip's eſcape owing to the haſte of the Ætolians to plunder his camp, 37. The Ætolians claim the honour of the victory, *ib.* Verſes of Alcæus ſuitable to their pretenſions, 38. Flaminius is hurt by thoſe verſes; but Philip parodies them, *ib.* Philip goes in perſon, and makes his ſubmiſſion to Flaminius and the Romans, *ib.* The conditions on which peace is granted him, *ib.* The prudence of Flaminius, in making that peace before Antiochus declared himſelf, 39. The ten commiſſioners ſent by the ſenate to aſſiſt Flaminius, adviſe him to keep garriſons in three of the principal cities of Greece; but he prevails with them to ſet Greece entirely free, 39, 40. He proclaims liberty to the Greeks at the Iſthmian games, 40. Their ſhouts of joy and applauſe bring down the crows from the air, 41. Their reflections upon Flaminius's generoſity, after they were retired to their own houſes, *ib.* He diſpatches Lentulus to the Bargyllians in Aſia, Stertinius into Thrace, P. Villius to Antiochus, and goes himſelf to Chalcis and Magneſia, for the purpoſe of extending liberty, 42. Appointed director of the Nemean games, *ib.* Recommends ſocial virtues to the Greeks, 43. The behaviour of the Romans on this occaſion, adds greatly to their power, and paves the way to univerſal empire, *ib.* Flaminius dedicates ſhields to Caſtor and Pollux, and a crown of gold to Apollo, at Delphi, *ib.* 44. The inſcriptions upon them, *ib.* Commences hoſtilities againſt Nabis, the tyrant of Lacedæmon, but ſoon

ſoon compromiſes the matter with him, 44. The Achaeans redeem the Roman captives that were diſperſed in Greece, and make Flaminius a preſent of them, 45. Theſe Romans make the moſt honourable part of his triumph 46. Account of the triumph, *ib.* The Romans remit the fine of a thouſand talents, which Philip was under obligation to pay; ſend back his ſon Demetrius, and declare Philip their ally, *ib.* Antiochus invades Greece, and the Ætolians join him, *ib.* The Romans ſend the conſul Acilius Glabrio againſt Antiochus, and appoint Flaminius the conſul's lieutenant, *ib.* Antiochus is defeated at Thermopylae, and forced to fly, 47. Flaminius ſecures the Greeks in the Roman intereſt, *ib.* Prevails with Glabrio to ſpare the Aetolians and Chalcidians, 47, 48. The Chalcidians pay divine honours to Flaminius, 48. Part of a hymn in his praiſe, *ib.* Some ſtrong features of his ſoul deſcribed, 49. Sayings of his, *ib.* He is created cenſor, 50. His acts while he bore that office, *ib.* His brother Lucius is expelled the ſenate by Cato, 51. Titus's reſentment againſt Cato, *ib.* He goes ambaſſador to the court of Pruſias, whither Hannibal had retired, upon the defeat of Antiochus in Phrygia, and demands that Hannibal ſhould be put to death, 52, 53. That demand of his conſidered *pro* and *con*, 54, 55, 56. Flaminius dies in his bed, 56. Flaminius greatly ſuperior to Philopœmen, in the ſervices he rendered Greece, 57. Flaminius ambitious, and Philopoemen obſtinate; the former paſſionate, and the latter implacable, *ib.* Philopoemen ſuperior in military knowledge and perſonal valour, 58, and Flaminius in point of juſtice and humanity, 59.

Flaminius, Lucius, brother of Titus, expelled the ſenate, iii. 51. Admiral under his brother, iii. 31.

Flavius, a tribune, wounds one of Hannibal's elephants with the point of an enſign ſtaff, ii. 396.

Flavius and Marullus, tribunes of the people, depoſed by Cæſar, iv. 393.

Flavius Gallus, raſhly undertakes an exploit againſt the Parthians, v. 429.

Flavius, or *Fulvius Flaccus*, informs Tiberius Gracchus of the ſenate's deſign againſt him, v. 203.

Flavius Sabinus, brother of Veſpaſian, left governor of Rome by Otho, vi. 234.

Flora, the celebrated courtezan, her amour with Pompey, iv. 118. So great a beauty that Cæcilius Metellus, when he adorned the temple of Caſtor and Pollux with paintings, put her picture amongſt the reſt, 119.

Flute, an inſtrument ſacred to peace, ii. 389.

Fonteius Capito ſent by Mark Antony to conduct Cleopatra into Syria, v. 423.

Fonteius killed by Valens, vi. 211.

Fortunate. See *Atlantic* iſlands.

Fortune, how diſtinguiſhed from chance, ii. 252. Her image ſaid to have ſpoken to the Roman matrons, ii. 200. Loves to make affairs turn upon a minute circumſtance, v. 170. Her inconſtancy, ii. 292, 303, 304. Her greateſt favours unable to fill the capacities of the human mind, iv. 181. Unable to conquer virtue, v. 2, 183.

Fountains, whence their origin ii 274, 275.

Fountains of fire near Apollonia, iii. 249.

Fox ſtolen by a Spartan boy, and he ſuffers it to eat out his bowels, rather than be diſcovered, i. 126.

† *Fregellae*, v. 212.

† *Fregellanians*, ii. 400.

Friendſhip. True friendſhip on what founded, ii. 317. Inſtances of it, *ib.* vi. 98.

Fugitives, thoſe that fly in battle, their puniſhment, iii. 322.

Fulcinia, mother of Marius, iii. 115.

Fulvia, widow of Clodius, marries Antony, v. 399. Maintains his quarrels in Rome againſt Auguſtus, 416. but cauſes the war, 417. Her death, *ib.*

Fulvia informs Cicero of Catiline's deſign to kill him, v. 288.

Fulvius, Cneius, the proconſul, ſlain by Hannibal, ii. 392.

Fulvius, Quintus, appointed dictator, ii. 393.

Fulvius, a friend of Caius Gracchus, v. 219. Sends his ſon to the conſul Opimius, 225. He and his eldeſt ſon killed, 226. His body thrown into the river, and his widow forbidden to put herſelf into mourning, 227.

Funeral orations, their origin, i. 255. Allowed to women for contributing their golden ornaments to make up an offering to Apollo, i. 336. Not made for young women till Cæſar's time, iv. 329.

Furcifer, the original of that name of reproach, ii. 185.

Furies, their temple, i. 210. a grove ſacred to them, v. 226.

Furii, Camillus firſt raiſes that family to diſtinction, i. 327.

Furius, Lucius, colleague to Camillus, when military tribunes were appointed inſtead of conſuls, i. 371. Sent by Camillus againſt the Tuſcans, 372.

Furius, colleague to Flaminius, ii. 360.

Furius, lieutenant to Publius Varinus defeated by Spartacus, iii. 428.

Furnius, an able orator, v. 445.

G.

†G*Abene*. Eumenes's troops ſpread themſelves over that country for winter-quarters, iv. 55.

† *Gabii*, Romulus and Remus ſent thither for education, i. 47.

Gabinius, Aulus, a tribune marches to the relief of Chæronea, iii. 236. Propoſes a law for inveſting Pompey with the command at ſea, and at land for four hundred furlongs from the ſea, iv. 144. Is elected conſul, v. 79. Has the province of Syria, 304. His rudeneſs to Cicero, 306.

Gabinius, Antony's lieutenant, vi. 74.
† *Gades*, iv. 10.
Gaeſilus, a Spartan, reconciles Dion and Heraclides, vi. 44.
Gaeiochus, a name of Neptune. See *Neptune*.
† *Galate*, mount, v. 39.
† *Galatia*, iii. 151. v. 59.
Galba, Sulpitius, the richeſt private man that ever roſe to the imperial dignity, vi. 200. Yet unable to pay the army the vaſt ſums which Nymphidius Sabinus, one of the captains of the prætorian cohorts, had promiſed in his name, 199. Of the noble family of the Servii, yet thinks it a greater honour to be related to Q. Catulus Capitolinus, one of the moſt virtuous men of his time, 200. Related alſo to Livia, the wife of Auguſtus, *ib.* Riſes by her intereſt, to the dignity of conſul, *ib.* Behaves with honour in Germany, and during his proconſulate in Africa, *ib.* His ſimple parſimonious way of living, out of character for an emperor, *ib.* Sent governor into Spain by Nero, *ib.* Unable to relieve the provinces under the oppreſſions of the procurators, but gives them the conſolation of his pity, 201. Does not endeavour to ſuppreſs the ſongs made upon Nero, *ib.* Nor informs him of Vindex's motions towards a revolt in Gaul, *ib.* Vindex commences open hoſtilities, and deſires Galba to accept the imperial dignity, *ib.* Galba deliberates upon it, *ib.* The ſpeech of Titus Vinius to him on that occaſion, *ib.* He enfranchiſes all that preſent themſelves, 202. Is declared emperor, but chuſes to act with the title of lieutenant to the ſenate and people of Rome, *ib.* The frantic manner in which Nero receives the news of Galba's revolt, *ib.* Nero prevails with the ſenate to declare Galba an enemy to his country, and confiſcates his eſtate, *ib.* The revolt from Nero becomes general, 203. All acknowledge Galba, except Clodius Macer in Africa, and Verginius Rufus in Germany, *ib.* Galba is much afraid of Verginius; particularly after he had defeated Vindex, *ib.* Wiſhes for his former life of eaſe and leiſure, *ib.* One of Galba's freedmen arrives in ſeven days from Rome, with the news that the prætorian guards and the ſenate and people of Rome, had declared Galba emperor, 204. He likewiſe aſſures him of the death of Nero, *ib.* Vinius confirms the news, and is promoted, *ibid.* Nymphidius Sabinus gets the adminiſtration of affairs at Rome into his hands, *ib.* Obliges his colleague Tigellinus to give up his ſword, *ib.* Makes great entertainments for the nobility, 205. Inſtructs the guards to demand of Galba, that Nymphidius may be their ſole and perpetual commander, *ib.* Reprimands the conſuls for putting their ſeal, rather than his, with the diſpatches, *ib.* Permits the people to deſtroy the informers

ers and others employed by Nero, *ib.* Affects to be called the ſon of Caius Cæſar, though probably the ſon of a gladiator, 326. Takes to himſelf the whole merit of dethroning Nero, and even aſpires to the imperial ſeat, *ib.* Sends Gellianus into Spain to act as a ſpy upon Galba, *ib.* Galba is apprehenſive of the power and deſigns of Verginius Rufus; but Verginius abides by his firſt reſolution, 207. That general, with much difficulty, perſuades his army to acknowledge Galba, *ib.* Galba ſends Flaccus Hordeonius to ſucceed him, *ib.* Verginius goes to meet Galba, and finds but a cold reception, *ib.* Vinius, the firſt miniſter of Galba, a rapacious and libidinous man, 208. Cornelius Laco is appointed to the command of the guards and of the palace, 209. Nymphidius adopts deſperate meaſures, 209, 210. and is ſlain by the troops which he attempted to corrupt, 211. Galba orders Cingonius Varro and Mithridates, two of Nymphidius's accomplices, to be put to death without any form of trial, *ib.* Sends an order for the execution of Petronius Turpilianus, a man of conſular dignity, *ib.* Cauſes Macer to be taken off in Africa, and Fonteius in Germany, *ib.* Falls upon a body of marines at no great diſtance from Rome, who came to ſolicit the continuance of their eſtabliſhment, and kills great numbers, 212. Miſerably parſimonious himſelf, but ſuffers his miniſter to plunder the treaſury in the moſt inordinate manner, 213. Puniſhes ſome of Nero's evil miniſters, but ſpares Tigellinus, the greateſt delinquent, who had bribed Vinius to ſpare him, 214. Thoſe two miſcreants laugh at the murmurs of the people, *ib.* All Galba's proceedings are now miſrepreſented, 215. His great error in not giving a gratuity to the army, *ib.* Yet he expreſſes himſelf nobly upon it, *ib.* The troops in Germany deſpiſe Flaccus, and are almoſt ready to mutiny againſt Galba, 216. Galba ſuppoſes, that not only his great age (he was ſeventy-three when he came to the empire) but his want of children, expoſes him to contempt; and therefore determines to adopt ſome young nobleman, and declares him his ſucceſſor, *ib.* Some account of Otho, 216, 217. He expects to be the perſon adopted, through the intereſt of Vinius, whoſe daughter he promiſes to marry, 218. The ſoldiers wiſh that Otho may be the man, *ib.* Galba gives no anſwer to Vinius's application, *ib.* Has the public good really at heart in his intended appointment, *ib.* The army in Germany mutinies againſt Galba's officers, and appoints Vitellius emperor, 219, 220. Galba proceeds to the adoption, and declares Piſo, Cæſar, *ib.* He gives no donation even on this occaſion, and

and the countenances of the ſoldiers are black and lowring, 221. The excellent qualities and princely behaviour of Piſo, 220, 221. Otho meditates revenge, and retains his hopes of aſcending the imperial throne, *ib.* A few ſubaltern officers, and one of Otho's freedmen, practiſe upon the prætorian cohorts, 222. Galba ſacrifices, and the diviner announces to him immediate danger from treaſon, *ib.* Otho, who attended the ſacrifices, gets out of the palace into the forum, and is ſaluted emperor by a very ſmall party of ſoldiers, 223. He is carried in great anxiety to the praetorian camp, and the tribune who kept guard opens the gate, *ib.* A mob of people crowd to Galba's palace on the news, 224. Some of his friends ſtand up in his defence, *ib.* Piſo is ſent out to the life guards, *ib.* Galba goes out into the forum, to ſpeak to the people, *ib.* Various reports concering the ſucceſs of Otho with the prætorian cohorts, *ib.* A body of horſe and foot appears, and declares Galba a private man, 225. He is attacked in his ſedan chair, *ib.* Sempronius Denſus, a centurion, is the only man faithful to Galba on this occaſion, *ib.* He is tumbled out of his chair, at what was called the Curtian lake, *ib.* Says to the conſpirators, "Strike, if it be for the good of Rome," *ib.* Is diſpatched with many ſtrokes, *ib.* His head is carried to Otho, who demands alſo that of Piſo, 226. Piſo's head is ſoon brought, as is alſo that of Laco, *ib.* Numbers petition for their reward for theſe murders, and are afterwards all put to death by Vitellius, *ib.* Otho prevents the ſoldiers from deſtroying Marius Celſus, who had no other crime than fidelity to Galba, 227. The ſenate is aſſembled, and takes the oath to Otho, *ib.* Vinius's daughter redeems his head with a large ſum, *ib.* Galba's corpſe is carried away, with Otho's permiſſion, and buried by his freedman, *ib.* His character, 228.

Galba, Servius, accuſes Paulus Æmilius, ii. 297.

Galba, a man of prætorian dignity, killed by Cæſar's ſoldiers at Rome, iv. 381.

Galley of Theſeus preſerved for ages by the Athenians, i. 22. Queſtion amongſt the philoſophers concerning the identity, *ib.*

Galley. A ſmall one of gold and ivory preſented by Cyrus to Lyſander, iii. 192.

† *Gallia Narbonenſis*, iv. 15.

Gallus, Sylla's lieutenant, iii. 238.

Gallus, one of Otho's generals, vi. 234.

Gallus, Flavius, one of Antony's officers, dies of his wounds, v. 429, 430.

Gallus ſent by Auguſtus to Cleopatra, v. 464.

Games inſtituted by Theſeus in Delos, i. 20. *Iſthmian*, by Theſeus, in honour of Neptune, i. 24. *n.* 26. ii. 240, 241. The moſt honour-

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and his mother a woman of different reputation, iii. 301. Detects Servilius his father's accuſer, in ſome miſdemeanor, and proſecutes him for it, *ib.* Has great command both of the Greek and Latin tongues, 302. Sylla dedicates his commentaries to him, *ib.* Verſed in the liberal ſciences, 302. Writes a ſhort hiſtory of the Marſi in Greek verſe, *ib.* His great affection for his brother Marcus, *ib.* They are created ædiles together, *ib.* Diſtinguiſhes himſelf in the Marſian war, tho' then very young, 303. His conſtancy and mildneſs recommend him to Sylla, who makes uſe of his ſervices from firſt to laſt, *ib.* Sylla gives him the direction of the mint, *ib.* Sylla ſends him out during the ſiege of Athens, with a few ſhips, in ſearch of proviſions, *ib.* He brings Crete over to that general's intereſt, *ib.* Puts an end to the civil wars in Cyrene, *ib.* Sails to Egypt, and finds a magnificent reception there, 304. Ptolemy refuſes to enter into alliance with Sylla, but offers Lucullus preſents to the value of eighty talents, *ib.* Lucullus touches at Cyprus, *ib.* The ſtratagem he made uſe of to eſcape the enemy's ſhips, 305. Gets a freſh ſupply of ſhips at Rhodes, and reduces ſeveral iſlands in the Ægean ſea, *ib.* Mithridates abandons Pergamus, and retires to Pitana, *ib.* Fimbria deſires Lucullus to ſhut up Mithridates in Pitana by ſea, while he attacks him by land, *ib.* Lucullus rejects the propoſal, and ſuffers Mithridates to eſcape, 306. Defeats the king's fleet twice, *ib.* Conveys Sylla and his army from the Cherſoneſus to the Aſiatic coaſt, *ib.* After the peace between Mithridates and Sylla, the latter lays a fine upon Aſia of twenty thouſand talents, 307. Lucullus, being commiſſioned to levy the fine, and to coin the money, performs the odious part of it in as lenient a manner as poſſible, *ib.* Puniſhes the Mityleans for having joined Marius's party, *ib.* Has no hand in the troubles of Italy, *ib.* Sylla conſtitutes him guardian to his ſon, *ib.* This was the foundation of the jealouſies between Pompey and Lucullus, *ib.* After the death of Sylla, Lucullus is choſen conſul with M. Cotta, *ib.* A new war with Mithridates is propoſed, *ib.* Lucullus readily ſupplies Pompey with money in Spain, leſt he ſhould come home, and be appointed to the command againſt Mithridates, 308. Prevents L. Quintius the tribune from reſcinding the acts of Sylla, *ib.* The method he takes to get the government of Cilicia, 309. Gains the command in the Mithridatic war, *ib.* His colleague Cotta is ſent with a fleet to guard the Propontis and Bithynia, *ib.* Lucullus paſſes into Aſia, with a legion raiſed in Italy on this occaſion, 310. Finds the Roman troops in Aſia, particularly thoſe called Fimbrians, intractable and entirely corrupted, *ib.* Brings them under

der diſcipline, 310. Mithridates new-models his army, and brings it from ſhow to uſe, *ib.* The people of Aſia, extremely oppreſſed by the Roman tax-gatherers and uſurers, are inclined to ſerve Mithridates, 311. But Lucullus redreſſes their grievances, *ib.* Cotta fights Mithridates, and is entirely defeated both by ſea and land, *ib.* He is ſhut up in Chalcedon, and Lucullus marches to his relief, 311, 312. Noble ſayings of Lucullus, *ib.* He goes to meet Marius, whom Sertorius had ſent to Mithridates, but the two armies are parted by a prodigy, 312. Reſolves to reduce Mithridates by famine, 313. Mithridates decamps in the night, and lays ſiege to Cyzicus, *ib.* Lucullus follows, and takes meaſures for cutting off his convoys, *ib.* Mithridates's men have the art to perſuade the Cyzicenians, that the Romans, who lay upon the heights, were Armenians, 314. But Lucullus finds means to ſend Demonax into the town to acquaint them with his arrival. *ib.* Preternatural tokens of relief to the beſieged, 314, 315. A ſtorm of wind deſtroys Mithridates's machines, 315. Mithridates, hard preſſed with famine, ſends off part of his forces towards Bithynia, 316. Lucullus comes up with them at the river Rhyndacus, deſtroys great numbers, and makes many priſoners, *ib.* Mithridates eſcapes by ſea, 317. Lucullus ſtrikes another great blow againſt his troops near the Granicus, *ib.* Gives chace to a ſquadron of the enemy's ſhips, takes them, and kills their admiral Iſidorus, *ib.* Deſtroys more of the king's ſhips near Lemnos, and takes Marius, the general ſent by Sertorius, priſoner, 318. Mithridates, in ſailing towards Pontus, encounters with a dreadful ſtorm, is forced to quit his own ſhip, and takes to a ſhallop commanded by pirates, 319. The pirates bring him ſafe to Heraclea in Pontus, *ib.* The ſenate offer Lucullus three thouſand talents, to enable him to fit out a fleet; but he tells them he ſhall drive Mithridates out of the ſea with the ſhips which the allies would give him, *ib.* He reſolves to penetrate into Pontus, by way of Bithynia and Galatia, *ib.* Finds proviſions very ſcarce at firſt, but afterwards meets with them in extreme plenty, *ib.* His troops complain of his taking the enemy's towns by capitulation, inſtead of ſtorm, *ib.* His anſwer to thoſe who complained of his proceeding ſlowly, 320. He leaves the ſiege of Amiſus to Muraena, and marches againſt Mithridates, who waits for him on the plains of the Cabiri, 321. In the firſt engagement the Roman cavalry are put to the route, *ib.* Pomponius, who is taken priſoner, behaves with great dignity, *ib.* Artemidorus conducts Lucullus to a ſtrong poſt which commands the plains of the Cabiri, 321, 322. A ſecond rencounter between the two armies, *ib.* A Dardarian grandee

grandee pretends to desert to Lucullus, with a view to assassinate him; but is providentially disappointed, 322, 323. Several skirmishes to the disadvantage of Mithridates, 324. The king quits his camp in a disorderly manner, and would have been taken had not a mule loaded with gold stopt his pursuers, 324, 325. Lucullus takes Cabiri, and many other places, where he finds much treasure and releases many prisoners; amongst the rest, one of the king's sisters, named Nyssa, 325. Mithridates sends the eunuch Bacchides to Pharnacia, to put his other sisters and wives to death, *ib.* The tragical story of Monime and Berenice the king's wives, 325, 326. The manner in which Roxana and Statira, the king's sisters, died, *ib.* Mithridates flies into Armenia, 326. Lucullus subdues Tibarene and the Less Armenia, 327. Demands Mithridates of Tigranes, *ib.* Returns to the siege of Amisus, and takes it, *ib.* Callimachus, who had defended it with great ability, sets fire to it, and flies by sea, *ib.* The Romans plunder it, *ib.* Lucullus weeps for its fate, *ib.* Rebuilds and peoples it, 328. The miserable state of Asia Minor, *ib.* By the regulations of Lucullus, its sufferings are relieved and its debts paid, 329. The farmers of the revenues raise a clamour against him in Rome, but he is adored in Asia, *ib.* Appius Clodius is misled by unfaithful guides, but at last arrives at Antioch of Daphne, where he is ordered to wait for Tigranes, 330. Clodius brings over Zarbienus, king of Gordyene, *ib.* The power and pride of Tigranes, *ib.* He refuses to deliver up Mithridates, 331. Changes his cold behaviour to Mithridates, 332. Metrodorus is sacrificed upon their reconciliation, *ib.* The Grecian cities in Asia institute a feast in honour of Lucullus, 333. Lucullus lays siege to Sinope and takes it, *ib.* Destroys the Cilicians who had thrown themselves into the town, *ib.* Endeavours to save the town on account of a dream concerning the hero Autolycus, *ib.* The bad policy of Tigranes in not joining Mithridates sooner, 334. Machares, son of Mithridates, sends Lucullus a crown of gold, and desires to be admitted among the friends and allies of Rome, *ib.* Lucullus leaves Sornatius, with six thousand men in Pontus, and with little more than double that number marches against Tigranes and Mithridates, 335. His troops murmur, and the popular orators at Rome declaim against him, *ib.* He passes the Euphrates without difficulty, and has presages of success, *ib.* Passes through Sophene, and pushes his march to mount Taurus, 336. Enters Armenia, *ib.* Tigranes behaves like a man intoxicated with prosperity, *ib.* Mithrobarzanes is the first who ventures to tell him the truth, and is sent with a body of men to take the Roman general alive, *ib.* Lucullus

cullus ſends Sextilius againſt him, 337. Mithrobarzanes falls in the action, and moſt of his troops cut in pieces, *ib.* Tigranes leaves Tigranocerta, and retires to mount Taurus, intending to aſſemble all his forces there; but Lucullus cuts off the parties as they come up, *ib.* Muræna attacks Tigranes in a defile, and puts him to flight, *ib.* Lucullus inveſts Tigranocerta, *ib.* Tigranes, contrary to the advice of Mithridates, marches to relieve it, 338. Lucullus leaves Muræna to continue the ſiege, and goes with a ſmall party againſt Tigranes, *ib.* Tigranes's ſaying on the diminutive appearance of the Romans, 340. He imagines Lucullus is flying, on his making a motion to paſs the river, *ib.* Somebody obſerves that day had been a black one to the Romans, and Lucullus ſays he will make it a white one, 341. He gains the advantage of the ſummit of a hill, and bears down upon the enemy, who fly without ſtriking a ſtroke, 341, 342. Tigranes rides off one of the firſt, and gives his diadem to his ſon, 342. The diadem is afterwards taken, *ib.* The prodigious carnage of the enemy, *ib.* Mithridates meets Tigranes, and endeavours to conſole and encourage him, 343. Lucullus takes Tigranocerta, *ib.* Finds immenſe treaſures there, and makes a proper uſe of them, 344. Recommends himſelf to the eaſtern nations by his juſtice and humanity, *ib.* Does great honour to the remains of Zarbienus, king of Gordyene, who had been put to death by Tigranes, 344, 345. Receives ambaſſadors from Parthia, 345. Finds the Parthians inſincere, and meditates an expedition againſt them, *ib.* His troops prove refractory and mutinous, 346. He aſcends mount Taurus, and marches againſt Artaxata, the capital of Tigranes, 347. Defeats Tigranes in another pitched battle, 348. His army refuſes to follow him to Artaxata, 349. He croſſes mount Taurus again, goes againſt Niſibis, and takes it, *ib.* His good fortune forſakes him, partly through his own fault, 349. 350. Murmurings againſt him at Rome, and practices for appointing another general, 350. His brother-in-law Clodius excites the Fimbrians againſt him, 351. His troops refuſe to march for ſome time, but on news that Fabius was beaten by Mithridates, they put themſelves in motion, 352. Triarius haſtens to fight before the arrival of Lucullus, and is defeated, *ib.* Mithridates, expecting to be joined by Tigranes, avoids an action with Lucullus, *ib.* Lucullus propoſes once more to march againſt Tigranes, but his mutinous troops ſhew their empty purſes, *ib.* All that they will agree to, is, to keep the field, and to fight if they ſhould happen to be attacked, 353. Pompey ſucceeds him in the command, *ib.* Their common friends bring them to an interview,

354. They meet upon polite terms at firſt, but part greater enemies than ever, *ib.* The circumſtance of the laurels which the lictors of Lucullus give to thoſe of Pompey, *ib.* Pompey allows Lucullus to take no more than ſixteen hundred men home with him to attend his triumph, *ib.* With difficulty he obtains his triumph, through the intereſt of the patricians, 355. The triumph deſcribed, 355, 356. He divorces Clodia for her infamous life, and is not more fortunate in marrying Servilia, Cato's ſiſter, 356. Soon quits the affairs of ſtate, and retires to luxurious indulgences, 357. His villas, gardens, fiſh-ponds, purple robes, furniture for his houſe, and proviſions for his table, 358, 359. He entertains the Grecian literati in his houſe, 360. Cicero and Pompey ſup with him, and only allow him to ſay to his ſervants, "We ſup in the Apollo," *ib.* He collects books at an immenſe expence, and his libraries are open to all the world, 361. The Greeks in particular have his countenance, and he often confers with them on matters of learning, *ib.* He gives the preference to the old academy, *ib.* Occaſionally attends both the ſenate and the forum; only quitting his pretenſions to the lead, 362. Pompey's party ſuborn a perſon to accuſe Lucullus of a deſign againſt Pompey's life, *ib.* Lucullus's intellects fail, and his brother has the care of his eſtate during the laſt years of his life, 363. The people inſiſt on burying him in the Campus Martius, but his brother begs leave to have it done in the Tuſculan eſtate, 363, 364.

Lucullus, Marcus, his brother Lucius's particular attention to him, iii. 302. Appointed ædile along with his brother, *ib.* Acts as one of Sylla's lieutenants, and gains a conſiderable victory, iii. 251. Accuſed by Memmius for ſome of his acts when quaeſtor, but acquitted, 355.

Lucullus, Marcus, prætor of Macedonia, iv. 328.

Lucumo, his intrigue with Arron's or Arun's wife, i. 343. Rather a title than a name, *ib. n.*

Lupercalia, a feaſt of purification, i. 74. A dog then ſacrificed, 76.

Luperci run about naked, and beat the women with thongs to cure them of barrenneſs, i. 75. iv. 392.

† *Luſitania*, iv. 388. vi. 217.

† *Luſitanians* ſend ambaſſadors to Sertorius, iv. 12. Defeated by Caeſar, 338.

Luſtration, vi. 86.

Lutatius Catulus. See *Catulus.*

Luxury flies from Sparta on the introduction of iron money, i. 112. Increaſes amazingly at Rome in a ſhort period, iii. 154.

Lybis, the father of Lyſander, v. 125.

† *Lycaonia*, iv. 47. v. 447.

Lyceum, iii. 229.

† *Lycia*, the actions of Brutus in that country, vi. 79, 80, 81.

Lycimnius, his tomb in Argos, iii. 110.

Lycomedes the Athenian the firſt who takes a Perſian ſhip in the battle of Salamis, i. 302.

Lycomedes, king of Scyros, receives Theſeus when baniſhed from Athens, i. 38. But afterwards puſhes him from a rock and kills him, *ib.* iii. 282.

Lycon the player, inſerts a verſe in his part, by which he begs ten talents of Alexander, and that prince gives them, iv. 263.

Lycon of Syracuſe, an accomplice in the murder of Dion, vi. 49.

Lycophron, brother of Thebe, aſſiſts her in killing her huſband, Alexander, the tyrant of Pherae, ii. 356.

Lycophron the Corinthian general, killed in battle by Nicias, iii. 380.

Lycortas, the father of Polybius, choſen general by the Achæans, revenges the death of Philopoemen, iii. 26.

Lycurgidae, days obſerved in memory of Lycurgus, i. 147.

Lycurgus, the Spartan lawgiver, the times in which he flouriſhed, i. 97, 98. His genealogy, 99. He ſucceeds his brother Polydectes in the Spartan throne, but relinquiſhes it, when it appears that his brother's widow is pregnant, 100. Preſerves the child, and keeps the adminiſtration only as his guardian, 101. To get clear of unjuſt ſuſpicions, travels into foreign countries, till his nephew Charilaus ſhould be grown up, 102. Viſits Crete, and treaſures up ſome of the Cretan laws, *ib.* Perſuades Thales, the lyric poet, to go and ſettle at Sparta, *ib.* Gets a copy of Homer's poems in Ionia, 103. Selects one of the uſages of Egypt, *ib.* Said by one hiſtorian to have viſited the Gymnoſophiſts, 104. Returns to Sparta, at the requeſt of his countrymen, and reſolves to alter the whole frame of the conſtitution, *ib.* Gains the ſanction of the Delphic oracle, 105. Prepares the principal citizens, and enters the market-place with thirty perſons well-armed, *ib.* Charilaus flies to the temple of Minerva, but ſoon makes his appearance again, and joins in the undertaking, *ib.* Lycurgus inſtitutes a ſenate, conſiſting of twenty-eight perſons, who were to preſerve a juſt equilibrium between the kings and the people, 106. The ephori, when inſtituted, 108. A full account of thoſe magiſtrates, *ib. n.* Lycurgus makes an equal diviſion of lands, 110. Baniſhes gold and ſilver, and introduces heavy iron-money, 111. This regulation eradicates luxury; but makes their mechanics excel in the neceſſary arts, 112. He obliges all the citizens to eat at public tables, 113. Loſes one of his eyes in an inſurrection, 114. A deſcription of theſe public repaſts, which were ſchools not only of temperance, but of education, 115, 116. He chuſes not to commit the principles of his polity to writing, but to interweave them with the education of youth, 117. Commands them to have plain and ſimple dwellings, *ib.* Not to fight often with the ſame enemy, 118. His regulations concerning the

virgins, *ib.* He fixes a mark of infamy upon old bachelors, 119. The Spartan marriages how conducted, 120. All jealousy removed, and adulteries prevented, by the husband's occasionally consenting to the communication of his wife's favours, 121, 122. No weakly children reared at Sparta, 122. The nurses excellent, 123. The education of the boys undertaken by the public, when they reached the age of seven years, *ib.* The whole an exercise of obedience, *ib.* Their attention to literature very small, 124. They are principally taught to be valiant and hardy, *ib.* Encouraged in carrying things off by surprise, but punished if discovered, 125. Irens and Mellirens, what? *ib.* Their spare diet contributes to make them tall, 126. Extraordinary instance of fortitude in a boy, *ib.* They are accustomed from their childhood to think, 127. If a favourite boy offends, the person who had taken him into his protection is punished, *ib.* They are taught to be concise in their language, and to excel in sharp repartee, *ib.* Instances of that kind, 128, 129, 130. Their reverence for old age, 120, 130. The Spartan poetry and music, 130, 131. The king sacrifices to the muses before a battle, 131. Their discipline less severe in war than in peace, 132. A saying of Lycurgus concerning a large head of hair, *ib.* Other regulations when they had taken the field, 133. Lycurgus assists Iphitus in regulating the Olympic games, and orders a general armistice during those games, 134. The discipline of the Lacedaemonians continues after they arrive at years of maturity; and the whole city, in point of good order, is like one great camp, *ib.* Their citizens exercise no mechanic arts; and the Helots till the ground for them, *ib.* Law-suits are banished with money, 135. Lycurgus encourages facetiousness, as a seasoning of their hard exercise and diet, *ib.* Instructs them to live not for themselves, but for their country, *ib.* The method which he orders of chusing a new senator, in case of a vacancy, 136, 137. His regulations with respect to burials and mourning, 138. He permits only some particular persons among the Spartans to travel; and suffers few strangers to visit Sparta, *ib.* What the *cryptia*, or ambuscade, was, 139. The Spartans treat the Helots with the greatest cruelty, 140. Lycurgus provides for the perpetuity of his laws, by making the people swear to observe them till his return from Delphi, 141, 142. With the same view, he voluntarily puts a period to his life, 142. His establishment and the glory of Sparta continue for the space of five hundred years, 143. In the reign of Agis, the son of Archidamus, money finds its way into Sparta, and with money

money comes corruption, *ib.* Eulogium of the Spartans, 144, 145, and of Lycurgus, 146. Leaves a ſon named Antiorus, who dies without iſſue, *ib.* A feaſt called Lycurgidae, is obſerved in memory of him at Sparta, 147.

Lycurgus, head of the Pediæi, i. 237. *n.*

Lycurgus the orator, v. 9. What he ſaid to Phocion, 12.

Lycurgus. The conditions on which he propoſes to deliver up Byzantium to Alcibiades, ii. 143.

† *Lycus*, river, iii. 321, v. 382.

† *Lydia*, i. 7, 42. iv. 44. vi. 108.

Lydian March, one of the Spartan feſtivals, concludes with it, ii. 436.

Lygdamis, iii. 126.

Lynceus. See *Idas.*

Lynceus wrote a deſcription of the entertainment which Lamia provided for Demetrius, v. 359.

yra, iv. 391.

Lyſander of Alopece, i. 323.

Lyſander, his ſtatue, or that of Braſidas, in the oratory of the Acanthians at Delphi, iii. 172. Ariſtoclitus, the father of Lyſander, not of the royal line, but deſcended from the Heraclidae by another family, 173. Lyſander conforms freely to the Spartan diſcipline, *ib.* Has a firm heart above the charms of any pleaſure, except that of glory, *ib.* Pays too much attention to the great when his own intereſt is concerned, *ib.* Does not love money, yet fills Sparta with it, and with the love of it too, 174. The Athenians after their defeat in Sicily, become once more equal to the Lacedæmonians at ſea, *ib.* Lyſander is pitched upon to act againſt them, *ib.* He proves a great benefactor to the city of Epheſus, 175. Goes to Sardis to acquaint Cyrus with the treachery of Tiſaphernes, who, contrary to the king's orders, favoured Alcibiades and the Athenians, *ib.* Ingratiates himſelf greatly with Cyrus, who gives him ten thouſand pieces of gold, *ib.* Increaſes the ſeamens pay, and, by that means, almoſt empties the enemy's ſhips, *ib.* Afraid to engage with Alcibiades, 176. Beats Antiochus, to whom Alcibiades had imprudently left the command of the fleet during his abſence, *ib.* Erects a trophy, *ib.* Lays the foundation of Ariſtocratical government in the cities of Aſia, *ib.* Greatly lamented by the principal perſons in thoſe parts when he leaves them, 177. Diſtreſſes his ſucceſſor Callicratidas, *ib.* Callicratidas, who was a brave but not a courtly man, fails in his application to Cyrus for money; and ſoon after is killed in the ſea-fight at Arginuſæ, 178. The command is reſtored to Lyſander, who was a man of as much art and duplicity as Callicratidas was of openneſs and integrity, 179. An inſtance of his duplicity, and cruelty too, with reſpect to the inhabitants of Miletus, 179, 180. Cyrus gives him large ſums, and promiſes him a

great fleet at his return from Media, 180. Lyſander pillages Ægina and Salamis, 181. Viſits the coaſt of Attica, where Agis was with his land-forces, *ib.* Takes Lampſacus, *ib.* The Athenian fleet, conſiſting of an hundred and twenty ſhips, lies at Ægos Potamos, *ib.* Lyſander forms over againſt them for ſeven days together, *ib.* Watches his opportunity when the Athenians ſhould abate of their care, 182. Alcibiades goes to the Athenian commanders, and gives them counſel, which they treat with contempt, *ib.* Lyſander falls upon the Athenian fleet when the men were gone aſhore to divert themſelves, and takes or deſtroys the whole, except the ſacred galley called Paralus, and eight ſhips, with which Conon eſcapes to Evagoras, king of Cyprus, 183. This finiſhes the Peloponneſian war, *ib.* Story of a great ſtone falling from heaven, 184, 185. Lyſander viſits the maritime towns of Aſia, and everywhere ſets up an oligarchy, compoſed of his own friends and creatures, 186, 187. He expels the Samians and Seſtians, 187. Reſtores the Æginetae, Melians, and Scionaeans to their poſſeſſions, *ib.* Athens is greatly diſtreſſed by famine, and Lyſander obliges it to ſurrender at diſcretion, 188. The Athenians are obliged to pull down the fortifications of the Piraeus and the long walls, to recall their exiles, and to keep ſuch a number of ſhips as the Lacedæmonians are pleaſed to allow them. *ib.* Lyſander finds a pretence to change their form of government, 189. Burns all their ſhips but twelve, and pulls down their walls, with every inſtance of feſtivity, *ib.* Sets up the thirty tyrants, *ib.* Puts a garriſon in the citadel, 190. Lyſander ſends the treaſures he had taken to Athens, by Gylippus, who opens the bottoms of the bags, and takes out large ſums, *ib.* In what manner that fraud was diſcovered, *ib.* Sciraphidas propoſes to exclude all gold and ſilver-money from Sparta, 191. Lyſander has intereſt enough to get it retained as the public treaſure, *ib.* This proves a moſt pernicious meaſure for his country, 192. He erects his own ſtatue, and thoſe of his officers, in braſs at Delphi, and dedicates two golden ſtars to Caſtor and Pollux, *ib.* He likewiſe places there the galley made of gold and ivory, which Cyrus had preſented him with, *ib.* Has altars erected to him, and hymns ſung, 193. His favours to the poets who flattered him, *ib.* Flattery makes him extremely arrogant and cruel, 194. Inſtance of his cruelty, *ib.* On the complaint of Pharnabazus againſt him, the ephori ſend the Scytale, and recall him, 195. Pharnabazus outwits him, and makes him his own accuſer, 196.

Lyſander pretends an obligation to viſit the temple of Jupiter Ammon, *ib.* Returns upon hearing that the oligarchies were going to be diſſolved, 197. Is appointed general again, *ib.* Is prevented from taking Athens again, by the jealouſy of Pauſanias, *ib.* The Athenians ſoon revolt; and that circumſtance redeems the reputation of Lyſander, 198. Several ſayings of his, *ib.* On the demiſe of Agis he finds means to get Ageſilaus appointed king, notwithſtanding the pretenſions of Leotychidas, and the lameneſs of Ageſilaus, 198, 199. Adviſes Ageſilaus to carry the war into Aſia, and goes with him as one of his counſellors, 200. The king finding that Lyſander is treated with ſuperior diſtinction, he humbles him more than he ought to have done ſuch a friend, 200, 201. Lyſander comes to an explanation with Ageſilaus, and has the lieutenantcy of the Helleſpont given him, 201. He draws off Spithridates from the Perſian intereſt, *ib.* He returns to Sparta, and forms a deſign to open a way to the throne to all the citizens of Sparta, or, at leaſt to all the Heraclidae, 202. Hopes, if he can effect this, to have the beſt pretenſions himſelf, *ib.* Gets Cleon of Halicarnaſſus to compoſe him an oration ſuitable to the occaſion, *ib.* Endeavours to ſupport his ſcheme with divine ſanctions, 203. The prieſts of Ammon accuſe him, but the Spartans regard them not, *ib.* Avails himſelf of a pretended ſon of Apollo, *ib.* Gives it out that there were certain oracles at Delphi, which none but a ſon of Apollo was to open, 204. The whole ſcheme miſcarries through the cowardice of one of the agents; but is not detected till after the death of Lyſander, *ib.* Charged with engaging his country in the Boeotian war, 204, 205. He is ſent againſt the Thebans with one army, and Pauſanias with another, 206. He takes Orchomenus and Lebadia, *ib.* Sends letters to Pauſanias, that he will meet him at Haliartus, *ib.* The Thebans intercept the meſſenger, and march in the night to Haliartus, *ib.* They order a party to wheel about and take Lyſander in the rear, *ib.* Another party ſallies out with the Haliartians, and kills Lyſander, 207. After this, his army is put to the route, *ib.* Pauſanias marches to Haliartus, and recovers Lyſander's body by treaty, 208. It is buried in the territories of the Panopæons, *ib.* An ancient oracle fulfilled by Lyſander's being killed near the river Hoplites, 208, 209. Lyſander's poverty, which was diſcovered after his death, proves an advantage to his character, 210. Amongſt his papers, after his death is found that political one which diſcovered his deſign to make the crown elective, *ib.* Ageſilaus is inclined to publiſh it, but is reſtrained by

by Lacratidas, *ib.* The Spartans fine the perſons who flew off from their engagement to his daughters, 210, 211.

Lyſander, ſon of Lybis, v. 125. Choſen one of the ephori through the intereſt of Agis, 127. Propoſes a decree for the cancelling of debts, 128. Accuſes king Leonidas, 131. Is proſecuted by the ephori for his decree relating to debts, *ib.* Deceived by the artful Ageſilaus, 132.

Lyſandridas, the Megalopolitan, his advice to Cleomenes, v. 167.

Lyſiades of Megalopolis, ſets himſelf up tyrant there, in hopes of finding ſuperior happineſs in power, vi. 171-2. Quits the ſovereignty, v. 147. Joins his city to the Achæan league, v. 147. Is choſen general of that league, and declares war againſt the Spartans, vi. 171. Quarrels with Aratus, and loſes his intereſt, 172. Forms a ſcheme to have all the honour of bringing Ariſtomachus, tyrant of Argos, into the league, but is diſappointed, 176. Aratus neglects to ſupport him with the infantry, and he is killed by Cleomenes, v. 147.

Lyſicles, a man in a low ſphere of life, by the inſtructions of Aſpaſia becomes one of the principal and moſt polite men in Athens, ii. 33.

Lyſidice, daughter of Pelops and mother of Alcmena, i. 7.

Lyſimachus, father of Ariſtides, ii. 408.

Lyſimachus, ſon of Ariſtides, experiences the bounty of the Athenians, ii. 451.

Lyſimachus, grandſon of Ariſtides, turns interpreter of dreams for his bread, ii. 451.

Lyſimachus, king, forges a letter to Pyrrhus, as from Ptolemy, iii. 68. Ravages Upper Macedonia, 73. Divides the kingdom of Macedonia with Pyrrhus, 75. Marches againſt him as far as Edeſſa, upon which Pyrrhus retires, and loſes his ſhare of Macedonia, 76. Says to Oneſicritus the hiſtorian, who read to him an account of the Amazon's viſit to Alexander, Where was I at that time? iv. 287. Suſpected by his allies on account of his great power, v. 364. Taken priſoner by Dromichaetes, v. 373.

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Lyſippus, the Achaean general, iii. 15.

Lyſippus. Alexander ſuffers no other artiſt to make his ſtatue, iv. 226. Repreſents, in figures of braſs, Alexander killing a lion, 281.

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Macaria, daughter of Hercules, ii. 337.

† *Macedonia* ſubdued by the Romans in the time of Perſeus, ii. 294.

Macedonians, great lovers of their kings, ii. 288.

Macedonicus, a name given to Metellus, iii. 113.

Machanidas, the Lacedaemonian tyrant, killed in battle by Philopoemen, iii. 13.
Machares, ſon of Mithridates, ſends Lucullus a crown of gold, and deſires to be admitted into the friendſhip and alliance of the Romans, iii. 334.
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Maecenas, the favourite of Auguſtus, v. 329.
† *Maeotis*, Paulus, iii. 126, 228.
Magas, brother to Ptolemy king of Egypt, his life ſaved by Cleomenes, v. 176.
Magacus, brother to Pharnabazus, undertakes to deſtroy Alcibiades, ii. 154.
Magi, the Perſian, iv. 225. vi. 108.
† *Magneſia*, a city given Themiſtocles by the king of Perſia, to ſupply him with bread, i. 320.
Magneſian citizen. Antony gives his eſtate to a cook for dreſſing one ſupper, v. 411.
† *Magneſians*, iii. 40, 47.
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† *Malea*, promontory of, v. 127.
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† *Malli*. Alexander's danger in the attack of their city, iv. 308, 309.
Mallius, or Manlius, Lucius, an aſſiſtant to Cato the Elder in attempting the heights near Thermopylae, ii. 470.
Mamercii pretend to be deſcendants of Mamercus, the ſon of Numa, i. 184.
Mamercus, the ſon of Pythagoras, ii. 258.
Mamercus, tyrant of Catana, forms an alliance with Timoleon, ii. 224. Envies his atchievements, and enters to league with the Carthaginians 245. Is beaten by Timoleon, and flies to Hippo, tyrant of Meſſana, 249. Surrenders to Timoleon, and is ſent to Syracuſe, where, upon his trial for breach of faith, and other crimes, he attempts to kill himſelf, but is prevented, and put to a ſeverer death, 250.
† *Mamertines*, a warlike people, inhabitants of Meſſana, iii. 93.
Mamurius Veturius makes eleven brazen ſhields, in reſemblance of that which Numa pretended to have fallen from heaven. See *Veturius*.
Mancinus, Caius, the conſul, is beaten by the Numantines, and makes peace; for which he is diſgraced and impriſoned, and the peace annulled, v. 188, 189, 190.
† *Mandonium*, v. 122.
Mandricidas, the Spartan, tells Pyrrhus if he is a god, he will do them no injuſtice; if a man, there will be found as good a one as he, iii. 100.
Mandroclidas, the ſon of Ecphanes, aſſiſts Agis in his ſchemes for reſtoring the Spartan conſtitution to its original purity, v. 125. Called to account

account for it by the ephori, 131.
Manilius expelled the ſenate by Cato, ii. 476.
Manilias the tribune, his law in favour of Pompey, iv. 150. Accuſed of having robbed the public, and defended by Cicero, v. 281, 282.
Manius Acilius Glabrio, ſent againſt Antiochus, whom he defeats at Thermopylae, iii. 22, 46, 47.
Manius Aquilius, iii. 129.
Manius Curius Dentatus triumphs thrice, ii. 455. Cato the Elder often viſits his little farm, *ib.* He defeats Pyrrhus, *ib.* His anſwer to the Samnite ambaſſadors who offered him gold, *ib.*
Manlius, Titus, the temple of Janus ſhut in his conſulſhip, i. 182.
Manlius, with Sylla's veterans, engaged in Catiline's conſpiracy, v. 286.
Manlius, Torquatus, cauſes his own ſon to be beheaded for fighting without orders, tho' he gained the victory, ii. 69.
Manlius, who ſaved the capitol, put to death for aſpiring to the ſupreme power in Rome, i. 371.
Manlius, the tribune, oppoſes Flaminius in his ſolicitation for the conſulſhip, iii. 29.
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Manlius conſpires againſt Sertorius, iv. 32.
Manlius, his application to Tiberius Gracchus, v. 195.
† *Mantinea*, iii. 1, 12. Taken by Aratus, v. 146. Its name changed to Antigonia, vi. 188. Battle of Mantinea, ii. 117.
† *Marathon*, battle of, ii. 415.
Marathonian bull conquered by Theſeus, i. 12.
Marathus, to fulfil an oracle, offers himſelf up at the head of the army, i. 35.
Marcellinus and Domitius demand of Pompey, whether he will ſtand for the conſulſhip or not, iii. 437.
Marcellus, brother-in-law to Cæſar Octavianus, v. 320.
Marcellus, Marcus, goes with Craſſus to Cicero's houſe at midnight, with letters relating to Catiline's conſpiracy, v. 287.
Marcellus, the tribune, ſon of the conqueror of Syracuſe, ii. 400.
Marcellus, ſon of Caius, his mother Octavia dedicates a library, and Auguſtus a theatre to his memory, ii. 402.
Marcellus the conſul attended by the ſenate, commands Pompey to prepare for the defence of his country, iv. 188. Oppoſes Cæſar's demands, and marches out to the army, *ib.*
Marcellus the quaeſtor, v. 63. Colleague with Cato, *ib.*
Marcellus, Marcus Claudius, the original of his family, ii. 358. Whence the ſurname of Marcellus, *ib.* His great ſkill in war, particularly in ſingle combat, *ib.* He reſcues his brother Otacilius, *ib.* Appointed ædile and augur, 359. Some time after the firſt punic war, Rome is engaged in a war with the Gauls,

Gauls, 359. They are defeated by Flaminius, 361. Flaminius and his colleague being depoſed, Marcellus is appointed conſul, and takes Cneius Cornelius for his colleague, 363. The Romans beſiege Acerrae, *ib.* Viridomarus, king of the Geſatae, lays waſte the country about the Po, *ib.* Marcellus comes up with him near Claſtidium, *ib.* A battle enſues, in which Marcellus, with numbers greatly inferior, defeats the enemy, and kills their king Viridomarus, 364. Conſecrates the Spolia Opima to Jupiter Feretrius, 365. Is honoured with a triumph, *ib.* The Gauls obtain reaſonable conditions of peace, *ib.* The Romans make an offering to Apollo on this occaſion, and ſend a preſent to Hiero, king of Syracuſe, 367. Hannibal enters Italy, and Marcellus is ſent with a fleet to Sicily, *ib.* After the great blow at Cannae, Marcellus ſends fifteen hundred men to aſſiſt in the defence of Rome, *ib.* Is ordered to head the remainder of the Roman army, which had retired to Canuſium, *ib.* The Romans wiſely join the boldneſs of Marcellus with the caution of Fabius Maximus, 368. What Hannibal ſaid of them, *ib.* Marcellus marches to the relief of Naples and Nola, *ib.* Recovers Bandius to the Roman intereſt, 369. Hannibal marches againſt Nola, in confidence of aſſiſtance from the inhabitants; but Marcellus is prepared, and the Romans ſally out upon the enemy at three different gates, 370. The Carthaginians are defeated for the firſt time, *ib.* Marcellus is called to the conſulate, but lays it down, upon the omens being declared inauſpicious, *ib.* Attacks Hannibal when he had ſent out large detachments for plunder, and defeats him again, 371. Three hundred of Hannibal's cavalry come over to him, *ib.* On the death of Hieronymus, the Carthaginians aſſert their claim to Sicily again, and Marcellus, now conſul the third time, is ſent into that iſland, 372. With much difficulty he procures leave from the ſenate to employ the fugitives from Cannae, 373. Hippocrates, the Syracuſan general, hoping by means of the Carthaginians to ſet himſelf up tyrant, attacks the Romans in the diſtrict of Leontium, 374. Marcellus takes Leontium, *ib.* Hippocrates, by repreſenting Marcellus as a ſanguinary man, gains admiſſion into Syracuſe, and bids defiance to Marcellus, *ib.* Marcellus attacks it both by ſea and land, *ib.* Prepares a prodigious machine upon eight gallies faſtened together, *ib.* Archimedes deſpiſes his preparations, *ib.* The great deſtruction which the philoſopher's engines made amongſt the Roman ſhips, 376. Marcellus's great machine called *Sambucca*, is broken in pieces, 377. Archimedes has ſcorpions, and other engines, to act at a leſs

leſs diſtance, 378. Marcellus calls him the mathematical Briareus, *ib.* During the ſiege of Syracuſe, Marcellus takes Megara in Sicily, 380. Attacks Hippocrates at Acrillæ, and kills eight thouſand of his men, *ib.* In the conferences held with the Syracuſans about the ranſom of Damippus, Marcellus takes notice of a tower which might be gained, 381. In the night of Diana's feſtival, he gets into the city, and forcibly enters the Hexapylum, *ib.* The ſubſequent operations, 382. *n.* His officers compliment him on his taking the city, but he weeps at the thought of what it was to ſuffer, *ib.* He is much afflicted at the unhappy fate of Archimedes, 384. His mercy to the people of Enguium, 385, 386. He is called home to carry on the war againſt Hannibal, 386. Carries with him the moſt valuable of the ſtatues and paintings from Syracuſe, *ib.* Is ſatisfied on this occaſion with an ovation, 388. Accuſed by the Syracuſans before the ſenate, but honourably acquitted, 390. Continues his protection to them notwithſtanding; and their liberty and laws by his means are confirmed to them, 391. Marches againſt Hannibal, and acts with more vigour than the officers before him, *ib.* Recovers the beſt towns of the Samnites, and makes three thouſand of Hannibal's men priſoners, 392. Cneius Fulvius, the proconſul with eleven tribunes, and great part of his army, is ſlain in Apulia, *ib.* Marcellus revenges his death, 393. Hannibal lays many ſnares for him, but he eſcapes them, *ib.* Called home to declare Quintus Fulvius dictator, his colleague having refuſed to nominate him, *ib.* Watches the motions of Hannibal, while Fabius Maximus beſieges Tarentum, 394. A battle is fought at Canuſium, in which Marcellus is beaten, *ib.* He renews the charge the next day, and amply redeems the Roman honour, 395, 396. Marcellus retires to Sinueſſa, for the refreſhment of his wounded ſoldiers, 396. Hannibal ravages the country, *ib.* Bibulus accuſes Marcellus of neglect of duty, *ib.* He is honourably acquitted, and choſen conſul a fifth time, 397. Allays a dangerous commotion in Tuſcany, *ib.* Does not ſucceed in his deſire to dedicate his temple to *Honour* and *Virtue*, *ib.* Several prodigies happen, 398. He is extremely deſirous to fight a deciſive battle with Hannibal, *ib.* Fixes his camp between Bantia and Venuſia, *ib.* Hannibal cuts in pieces ſome troops that were marching againſt the weſtern Locrians, 399. Hannibal takes advantage of a hill that lay between the two camps, to form a ſtratagem, *ib.* Marcellus goes with a few horſe to reconnoitre the hill, in order to encamp upon it, 400. His colleague Criſpinus, and his ſon Marcellus, attend him, *ib.* Hannibal's ambuſh

buſh riſes out of the woody hollows, kills Marcellus, and mortally wounds Criſpinus, 400. Young Marcellus is carried off wounded, and Criſpinus, who dies of his wounds ſome time after, *ib.* Hannibal, after having taken Marcellus's ſignet, gives the body a magnificent funeral, and ſends the aſhes in a ſilver urn to his ſon, 401. Marcellus's public donations, 402. The inſcription on the pedeſtal of his ſtatue in the temple of Minerva at Lindus, *ib.* His poſterity continues in great ſplendor down to Marcellus, nephew and ſon-in-law of Auguſtus, *ib.*

Marcia, daughter of Philip and wife to Cato the philoſopher, v. 69. He lets Hortenſius have her, and takes her again when a rich widow, 70, 98.

Marcius, or Martius, Numa's kinſman perſuades him to accept the crown which the Romans offered him, i. 157. Starves himſelf to death, i. 185.

Marcius, ſon of Marcius, marries Pompilia, the daughter of Numa, i. 184. Is the father of Ancus Marcius, 185. Publius and Quintus Marcius ſupply Rome with water, ii, 156.

Marcius, Caius Marcius. See *Coriolanus*.

Marcius Philippus, ii. 307.

Marcius, employed by Catiline to kill Cicero, v. 288.

† *Marcius* mount, i. 365.

Marcus Craſſus. See *Craſſus*.

Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, declared chief of the ſenate by Paulus Æmilius, ii. 307.

See all the other MARCI *under their family names.*

Mardian conducts the Romans out of Parthia, v. 428. *et ſeq.*

Mardion the eunuch, v. 446.

Mardonius, Xerxes's general. Pauſanias acts as commander in chief againſt him, ii. 433. and Ariſtides at the head of the Athenians, *ib.* He is killed in the battle of Platææ, 438.

Mares, the graves of thoſe of Cimon near his own, ii. 460.

Margian ſteel, iii. 451.

Margites, why Demoſthenes called Alexander by that name, v. 260. *n.*

Marica, a comedy of Eupolis ſo called, iii. 376.

Marician grove dedicated to the nymph of Marica, iii. 161, 162.

Marius, Caius, had no third name, iii. 113. His ſtatue at Ravenna, 114. Stern in his countenance, and intractable in his diſpoſition, *ib.* The diſadvantage of his having no knowledge of the Greek literature, 115. His parents obſcure and indigent people, *ib.* His father's name the ſame with his, and his mother's Fulcinia, *ibid.* Born at a village in the territory of Arpinum, *ib.* Makes his firſt campaign under Scipio at the ſiege of Numantia, *ib.* Scipio foretels that he would one day be a great general, 116. When tribune of the people, he propoſes a law which leſſened the authority of the patricians in matters of judicature, and carries it againſt the conſul, *ib.* Oppoſes the plebeians with reſpect to a diſtribution of corn,

corn, 117. Applies for the office of aedile, and loſes it, *ib.* Is accuſed of bribery in his application for the praetorſhip, and gains it with great difficulty, 117, 118. Goes proprætor to the Farther Spain, and clears it of robbers, 118. Marries Julia, of the family of the Cæſars, 119. Inſtance of his fortitude in bearing an operation in ſurgery, *ib.* Metellus takes him as one of his lieutenants in the war againſt Jugurtha, *ib.* He practiſes againſt Metellus, and takes every method to recommend himſelf to the common ſoldiers, 119, 120. Prevails upon Metellus to paſs ſentence of death on his friend Turpilius, who had loſt the town of Vacca, and then inſults him for it, 121. Applies to Metellus for leave to go and ſtand for the conſulſhip which he gains only twelve days before the election, 122. On his arrival at Rome, by falſe charges againſt Metellus, and great promiſes to the people, he prevails on them to elect him, *ib.* His inſolent ſpeeches againſt the nobility, *ib.* Metellus leaves his lieutenant Rutilius to deliver up the forces to Marius, 123. Bocchus, father-in-law to Jugurtha, delivers up that prince to Sylla, Marius's quæſtor; who thence endeavours to rob Marius of the honour of his exploits in Africa, as he had done Metellus, 123, 124. Marius is elected conſul again, though abſent, in order to his going general againſt the Teutones and Cimbri, who were marching towards Italy with an army of three hundred thouſand men, 125. He triumphs for the conqueſt of Jugurtha, who is led captive, 127. After the triumph, Jugurtha is thruſt down naked into a dungeon, and ſtarved to death, 128. Marius enters the ſenate in his triumphal robe, *ib.* He trains his ſoldiers to labour while upon the road, *ib.* The barbarians, inſtead of coming upon him immediately, invade Spain, 129. He diſciplines his troops in an excellent manner, *ib.* He obtains a third and a fourth conſulſhip, becauſe the Romans did not chuſe to meet the barbarians under any other general, 129, 130. The part the tribune Saturninus acted on that occaſion, *ib.* Lutatius Catulus is appointed colleague to Marius, 130. Marius encamps by the river Rhone, and makes a cut in the mouth of that river, in order to the ſupplying his camp the better with proviſions, *ib.* The Cimbri march through Noricum againſt Catulus and the Teutones and Ambrones through Liguria againſt Marius, *ib.* Marius accuſtoms his men to the uncouth and terrible looks of the enemy, 131. The troops complain of his reſtraining them from action, *ib.* He makes great uſe of the pretended prophecies of a Syrian woman, named Martha, 132. Two vultures, which the ſoldiers had taken, and adorned with brazen collars, commonly appear

pear before any great ſucceſs, 133. Prodigies that happened before the battle, *ib.* What happened to Aulus Pompeius, on his endeavouring to diſcredit the prediction of Batabaces, *ib.* The Teutones attempt Marius's entrenchments, and loſe a number of men, *ib.* They march by, and aſk the Romans, whether they have any commands to Rome, 134. Marius follows, and prepares for battle near Aquæ Sextiæ, *ib.* Pitches upon a camp that afforded little water, *ib.* The attempts of the ſervants of the army to get water brings on an action, *ib.* The Ambrones and Ligurians are the firſt that engage, 135. The Ambrones are defeated, 136. The Romans paſs a diſagreeable night, notwithſtanding, *ib.* Marius diſpatches Claudius Marcellus, to lie in ambuſh behind the enemy with three thouſand men, 137. The battle deſcribed, *ib.* 138. The troops vote Marius ſuch of the tents as were not plundered, 138. As he is preparing to ſet fire to piles of the enemy's arms, news is brought him of his being elected conſul a fifth time, 139. Catulus gives up the Alps to the Cimbri, and poſts himſelf behind the river Atheſis, *ib.* The Romans fly, and Catulus, when unable to ſtop them, puts himſelf at their head, 140. Marius goes to Rome, but refuſes the triumph that was offered him, 141. He joins Catulus, *ib.* What paſſed between Marius and the ambaſſadors of the Cimbri, *ib.* He contrives a new form for the javelin, 142. The battle with the Cimbri, 143, 144. The deſperate behaviour of the Cimbri and their women, on the defeat, 145. Marius gains the honour of the day, though Catulus did the moſt ſervice, *ib.* He is called the third founder of Rome, 146. He courts the people for a ſixth conſulſhip, *ib.* Timid in popular aſſemblies, *ib.* Obtains the conſulſhip by the aſſiſtance of Glaucias and Saturninus, throws out Metellus, and gets Valerius Flaccus elected his colleague, 147. Abets Saturninus in his Agrarian law; in the murder of Nonius; and in a clauſe obliging the ſenate to confirm whatever the people ſhould enact, 148. By means of the ſnare that lurked in that clauſe, and Marius's prevarication, Metellus is baniſhed, 149. Marius acts a double part between the nobility and the ſeditious tribunes, 150. Saturninus and the reſt of the cabal, fly into the capitol, but are forced to ſubmit for want of water, *ib.* The members of the cabal are diſpatched by the people, on their coming down into the forum, 151. Marius declines offering himſelf for the cenſorſhip, through fear of a repulſe, *ib.* On the recall of Metellus, Marius takes a voyage into Aſia, and endeavours to ſtir up Mithridates to war, in hopes of being appointed general againſt him,

him, 151, 152. Bocchus, king of Numidia, erects in the capitol a ſet of figures, comprizing the hiſtory of his delivering up Jugurtha to Sylla, 152. This inflames the jealouſy of Marius, *ib.* A civil war is prevented, for the preſent, by the breaking out of the Marſian war, or the war of the allies, *ib.* Marius does not diſtinguiſh himſelf in that war, like Sylla, 153. Yet he kills ſix thouſand of the enemy in one battle, and ſuffers not Popedius Silo, one of their beſt generals, to take any advantage of him, *ib.* He lays down his command, under pretence of inability, *ib.* Yet he ſolicits the chief command againſt Mithridates, through the tribune Sulpitius, 154. Takes his exerciſes in the Campus Martius, like a young man, *ib.* Sulpitius gets ſix hundred of the equeſtrian order about him, whom he calls his anti-ſenate, 155. That tribune kills the ſon of Pompeius Rufus, one of the conſuls, and puts Sylla, the other conſul, to flight, *ib.* Then he decrees the command to Marius, *ib.* Marius ſends two officers to Sylla, with orders that he ſhould deliver up the army, *ib.* Sylla puts thoſe officers to death, and marches immediately towards Rome, 156. Marius, after ſome cruelties, and a vain attempt to raiſe forces, flies, *ib.* His friends deſert him, *ib.* He retires to Salonium, a little villa of his; and from thence to Oſtia, where he embarks, attended only by Granius, *ib.* Young Marius is in danger, but is ſaved by a bailiff of his father-in-law Mutius, and carried towards Rome in a cart-load of ſtraw, *ib.* Young Marius ſails for Africa, *ib.* The elder Marius coaſts Italy, 157. Diſtreſſed by fear of his old enemies, his infirmities, and bad weather, he goes on ſhore at Circæum, *ib.* In great want of proviſions, and hunted by Sylla's ſoldiers; yet encourages his little company by a prophecy that he ſhould gain a ſeventh conſulſhip, 157, 158. He eſpies a troop of horſe making towards him, and with much difficulty gets on board a veſſel, 158. The mariners, after having refuſed to ſurrender him to the horſemen, ſet him aſhore near the mouth of the river Liris, and there deſert him, 159. He applies to a cottager to hide him, *ib.* On the noiſe of perſons ſent by Geminius to ſearch for him, he leaves the cave where he was lurking, and plunges into one of the marſhes, 160. He is diſcovered, and carried to Minturnæ, *ib.* The magiſtrates place him at the houſe of Fannia, who had an inveterate averſion to him, *ib.* She forgets her reſentment, and entertains Marius in the beſt manner, *ib.* He is encouraged by an omen, *ib.* The magiſtrates of Minturnæ paſs ſentence of death upon him, 161. The executioner, who was either a Gaul or a Cimbrian, trembles at the voice of Marius, and

and at a light which darted from his eyes, 161. The ſoldier reports this to the people, and they reſolve to conduct him wherever he pleaſed, *ib.* They lead him even through the Marcian grove, 161, 162. He goes on board a veſſel provided by one Belaeus, 162. Finds his ſon-in-law, Granius, in the iſle of Ænaria, *ib.* Touches at Sicily, from whence he eſcapes with difficulty, *ib.* Is informed in the iſland of Meninx, that his ſon Marius had eſcaped to Africa, and was gone to implore ſuccour of Hiempſal, *ib.* Lands in Africa, and receives a meſſage from the prætor Sextilius, commanding him to depart, *ib.* His noble anſwer, 163. The king of Numidia detains young Marius at his court; but a love-adventure ſets him free, and he returns to his father, *ib.* The omen of two ſcorpions fighting, puts Marius upon eſcaping to a neighbouring iſland, and ſoon after he ſees a party of Numidian horſe in purſuit of him, *ib.* He is informed of the quarrel between the conſuls Cinna and Octavius, *ib.* Octavius having expelled Cinna, and appointed another conſul in his room, Cinna collects forces, and maintains the war againſt them, 164. Marius ſails, to join him, with only one thouſand men, *ib.* He arrives at Telamon, a port of Tuſcany, and proclaims liberty to the ſlaves, *ib.* Collects a conſiderable force, and fills forty ſhips, *ib.* Makes Cinna an offer of his aſſiſtance, which is accepted, *ib.* Cinna declares him proconſul, and ſends him the faſces, which he rejects, *ib.* He cuts off the enemy's convoys at ſea, and makes himſelf maſter of the maritime towns, 165. Oſtia is betrayed to him, *ib.* He enters Rome, after having demurred, under pretence of being an exile, 166. The conſul Octavius is ſlain, *ib.* Marius ſelects a guard from the ſlaves, and calls them his Bardiæans, *ib.* Theſe put all to death, whoſe ſalutation Marius does not return, 167. Account of the dreadful maſſacres, *ib.* Cornutus eſcapes through the fidelity of his ſlaves, *ib.* Mark Antony the orator is diſcovered in his retreat and ſlain, 167, 168. Lutatius Catulus, formerly the colleague of Marius, in deſpair, puts an end to his life, 168. The Bardiaeans are cut off by Cinna and Sertorius, 169. News is brought that Sylla had put an end to the Mithridatic war, and was returning to Rome, *ib.* This gives a ſhort reſpite to the miſeries of Rome, *ib.* Marius is elected conſul the ſeventh time, and the very day he enters on his office, orders Sextus Lucinus to be thrown down the Tarpeian rock, *ib.* Finds his faculties fail, *ib.* Has recourſe to the bottle, *ib.* Becomes delirious, 170. Dies at the age of ſeventy, with the chagrin of an unfortunate wretch, who had not obtained what he wanted, *ib.* His death productive of

the greateſt joy in Rome, 171. His ſon treads in the ſteps of his cruelty, and comes to an untimely end, *ib.*

Marius, ſon of Caius Marius, iii. 156. Goes to beg ſuccours of Hiempſal, king of Numidia, 163. Is detained at his court, but makes his eſcape by the aſſiſtance of a young woman that fell in love with him, *ib.* Is beaten by Sylla, iii. 250. Behaves with cruelty, 171. Flies to Praeneſte, 253. Kills himſelf, 171, 258.

Marius Celſus. See *Celſus.*

Marius, Marcus, proſcribed by Sylla, iii. 259.

Marius, Marcus, a Roman officer, ſent by Sertorius, to act as general for Mithridates, iii. 312, 318. iv. 30.

Marius's mules, who ſo called, iii. 128.

Marphadates, a Cappadocian prince, huſband to Pſyche, with whom young Cato had an intrigue, v. 118.

Marriage. Cuſtoms and ceremoniesrelating to it at Rome, i. 62, 63. Romulus's laws concerning it, 76. Regulations of Lycurgus, i. 120. and of Solon, about it, 223, 224.

† *Marrucinians*, ii. 283.

Mars given out as father of Romulus and Remus, i. 45.

† *Marſi.* Sylla perſuades them to declare for the Romans, iii. 215.

Marſyas put to death by Dionyſius the Elder, for a dream, vi. 8.

Martha, a Syrian propheteſs, dreſſed up by Marius with great pomp. She attends him in his expeditions, and he makes great uſe of her predictions, iii. 132.

Martia. See *Marcia.*

Martialis, a tribune, vi. 223.

Martianus, a gladiator, vi. 204.

Martius Rex marries Tertia, ſiſter of Clodius, v. 303.

Martius, v. 314.

Marullus, a tribune of the people, depoſed by Caeſar, iv. 393.

Maſiniſſa, king of Numidia, his wars with the Carthaginians, ii. 489. A ſteady friend to the Romans, *ib.*

Maſiſtius, a Perſian officer, behaves with great courage, ii. 430. Is killed in battle by the Athenians, *ib.*

† *Maſſilia*, or Marſeilles, city of, founded by a merchant, i. 199.

Maſſilians incloſe their vineyards with the bones of thoſe who fell in the battle between the Romans and the Teutones, iii. 138.

Matronalia, a feaſt in honour of the Roman matrons, for their putting an end to the war between the Sabines and the Romans, i. 74.

Matuta, Mater, the temple of a goddeſs ſo called by the Romans, i. 331.

Mauriſcus, what he ſaid to the ſenate of Rome, vi. 205.

† *Mauritania*, iv. 11.

Mazeus, upon the impreſſion made on Parmenio by the Bactrian horſe, ſends a party round to fall on thoſe who guarded Alexander's baggage, iv. 268. Alexander's munificence to the ſon of Mazeus, 279.

Meal. No ſacrifice to be made without it, i. 173.

Mecenas, v. 422.

Mechanics firſt cultivated as a branch of philoſophy by Eudoxus and Archytas, ii. 375.
Medea wife of Ægeus, i. 11. Suppoſed to have anointed with Naphtha the crown and veil which ſhe gave Creon's daughter, iv. 274.
† *Medes*, their habits, iv. 286.
† *Medica*, ii. 271.
Medimnus. A ſheep and a medimnus of corn, each valued at a drachma in Solon's time, i. 228. Of wheat, ſold for a thouſand drachmas in time of famine, iii. 231.
† *Mediolanum*. See *Milan*.
Medius, a friend of Antigonus, his dream, v. 349.
Megabacchus, famed for his ſtrength and courage, a friend of young Craſſus, iii. 453. Kills himſelf, 455.
Megabates, ſon of Spithridates, a favourite of Ageſilaus, iv. 78.
Megabyzus, Alexander's letter to him, iv. 282.
Megacles, archon of Athens, involves the city in the guilt of ſacrilege, in the affair of Cylon, i. 210.
Megacles, father of Dinomache, and grandfather of Alcibiades, ii. 100.
Megacles, ſon of Alcmaeon, heads a party of the Athenians, on their breaking into factions after the departure of Solon, i. 237. Piſiſtratus obtains a guard, and Megacles flies, 240.
Megacles, a friend to Pyrrhus. Pyrrhus tells him that the order of the Roman army has nothing of the barbarian in it, iii. 82. Pyrrhus changes his dreſs with him; upon which he is attacked and killed, 84.
Megacles, brother to Dion, joined in commiſſion with Dion by the Syracuſans, vi. 26.
Megalacus belonged to the court of Philip, the ſon of Demetrius, vi. 190.
Megalopolis taken by Cleomenes, iii. 5. Its inhabitants ſaved and reſtored by Philopoemen, 6. Hard preſſed by Nabis, tyrant of Lacedæmon, 15, 16.
† *Megara* in Macedonia, iii. 62.
† *Megara* in Sicily, ii. 380.
† *Megara* reſtored to liberty b Demetrius, v. 341.
Megarenſians take Niſaea, and recover Salamis from the Athenians, i. 210. Their manner of ſepulture, 208. The Athenians forbid them to ſet foot on their territories, ii. 40. They are united to the Athenians by Phocion, v. 17.
Megellus and *Pheriſtus* migrate from Elea to Agrigentum, which had been ruined by the Carthaginians during the Athenian war, ii. 250.
Megiſtonus marries the mother of Cleomenes, v. 146, 147.
Melancholy. Ariſtotle obſerves that perſons of genius have ſomething of it, iii. 173.
Melanippus, ſon of Theſeus by Perigune, i. 8.
Melanopus the orator, v. 249.
Melantas, vi. 126.
Melanthius the elegiac poet, iii. 275.
Melanthius, what he ſaid in praiſe of Phocion's wife to a player, v. 22.
Melanthus of Sicyon the celebrated painter, vi. 153.

† *Melas*, river, navigable from its ſource, iii. 242. Swells about the ſummer ſolſtice like the Nile, and produces the ſame plants, *ib.*

Meleager. Theſeus aſſiſts him in killing the Calydonian boar, i. 31.

Melians, inhabitants of Melos, one of the Cyclades, Alcibiades the chief cauſe of the ſlaughter amongſt them; yet he thinks he does the iſland great honour by cohabiting with one of its women, ii. 119. Lyſander reeſtabliſhes them, iii. 187.

† *Melibœa*, ii. 348.

Melicertes. Ceremonies in the worſhip of him, i. 26.

Meliſippidas, iv. 65.

Meliſſus, the philoſopher, Themiſtocles ſtudies under him, i. 282.

Meliſſus, admiral of Samos, beats the Athenians, ii. 36. But is afterwards defeated by Pericles, 37.

† *Melite*, an Athenian borough, i. 208. v. 22.

† *Melitea*, city of, iii. 241.

Melitus, a torch-bearer, iv. 178.

† *Mellaria*, iv. 15.

Mellirens. See *Irens*.

Melon, one of the aſſociates of Pelopidas in delivering Thebes, ii. 321.

Memmius, Caius, accuſes the two Luculli, iii. 355. v. 74.

Memmius, Pompey's ſiſter's huſband. Pompey, after he had reduced Sicily for Sylla, left him governor there, iv. 127.

Memmius, Pompey's lieutenant, killed in battle by Sertorius, iv. 26.

Memnon, the moſt able of Darius's generals, iv. 245. His death, *ib.* He was huſband of Barſine, 251.

† *Memphis*, one of the wonders of Egypt, iii. 304.

Menander, one of the Athenian generals, defeated by Lyſander at Ægos Potamos, ii. 151, 152.

Menander, an officer ſent by Mithridates to intercept one of Lucullus's convoys, iii. 324.

Menander, joined in commiſſion with Nicias, iii. 402. His fatal ambition to fight, 403.

Menander had the care of Antigonus's baggage, iv. 46. Eumenes has an opportunity to take it, but forbears, *ib.*

Menander put to death by Alexander, for deſerting a fortreſs of which he had the command, iv. 300.

Menander the poet alludes to Alexander's paſſing through the Pamphylian ſea, iv. 244.

Menas, a ſea-officer under Sextus Pompeius, propoſes to him a method to make the world his own, v. 419.

† *Mende*, caſtle of, iii. 474.

† *Mendes* in Egypt, the prince of it ſolicits the favour of Ageſilaus, iv. 114.

Meneclidas, from a principle of envy, endeavours to ſet up another againſt Epaminondas and Pelopidas, ii. 341. Is fined by the Thebans, 343.

Menecrates the hiſtorian, i. 27.

Menecrates, an officer in the navy of Sextus Pompeius, v. 418.

Menecrates the phyſician, iv. 91.

Menedemus, an officer of the bed-chamber to Lucullus, ſaves his maſter from an attempt of Olthacus upon his life, iii. 323.

† *Me-*

† *Menelaus*'s haven in Africa, Ageſilaus dies there, iv. 115.
Menelaus, brother to Ptolemy king of Egypt, is defeated, and ſurrenders to Demetrius, v. 346, 347.
Menemachus and *Myro* ſent by Mithridates to intercept a Roman convoy; but their troops are almoſt totally cut off by Adrianus, iii. 324.
Menenius Agrippa appeaſes a ſedition, by reciting a fable to the people, ii. 161, 162.
Menes propoſes to make young Pompey maſter of the world, v. 419.
Meneſthes, one of the young men ſent with Theſeus by way of tribute to Crete, i. 16.
Meneſtheus the orator, v. 9.
Meneſtheus ſtirs up the Athenians againſt Theſeus, and takes the reins of government, i. 35, 39.
† *Meninx*, an iſland, at which Marius touches in his flight to Africa, iii. 162.
Menippus has a principal command under Pericles, ii. 22.
Menippus the Carian, a rhetorician, viſited by Cicero, v. 275.
Menœceus, ſon of Creon, devotes himſelf to death for his country, ii. 337.
Menon, Phidias's ſcholar, accuſes him, and Phidias dies in priſon, ii. 43, 44.
Menon commands the Theſſalian horſe in the Perſian expedition, v. 29. vi. 111. *n.* 125. The father of Phthia, iii. 62.
Mentor, brother of Memnon, goes with Eumenes to Alexander, when he has a certain complaint to make, iv. 35.
Menyllus commands the garriſon which Antipater put in Athens, v. 32. Offers Phocion a ſum of money, which he refuſes, 34.
Mercedinus, or *Mercedonius*, the Roman intercalary month ſo called, i. 179. iv. 390.
Merchant, his profeſſion honourable, i. 198, 199. Solon follows it ſome time, *ib.*
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Meſabates the eunuch, won of Artaxerxes at dice, by Paryſatis, and ordered to be flayed alive, for having cut off the head and hand of Cyrus, vi. 124.
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† *Meſopotamia*. See the life of *Craſſus*.
Meſſala, father of Valeria, the wife of Sylla, iii. 262.
Meſſala Corvinus, a friend of Caſſius and Brutus, fights in the right wing of their army at Philippi, vi. 88. His generous anſwer to Auguſtus, 101.
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† *Meſſana*, or *Meſſena*, in Sicily, ii, 233. iii. 93. v. 98. vi. 50.
† *Meſſapians*, iii. 78.
† *Meſſene* in Peloponneſus, the fertility of the lands about it, i. 109.

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Metagenes continues building the Parthenon, which was begun by Coræbus, ii. 20.

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† *Metapontum*, ii. 84.

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Metellus, Quintus, his invidious obſervation upon Tiberius Gracchus, v. 199.

Metellus, Quintus, why called *Celer*, i. 54. Married a ſiſter of Clodius, v. 303.

Metellus, the chief pontiff, marries his daughter to Sylla, iii. 221. His death, iv. 331.

Metellus, Caius, calls upon Sylla to declare whom he will ſave, and whom deſtroy, iii. 257.

Metellus, or, as Plutarch calls him, *Metilius Cimber*, gives the ſignal for the attack upon Caeſar in the ſenate-houſe, iv. 398.

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† *Methydrium*, v. 145.

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† *Milan* taken by the Romans, ii. 365. What paſſed between the people and Auguſtus Caeſar, vi. 105.

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† *Minturnae*, Marius, lurks in the marſhes near it, but is taken and brought before the magiſtrates of that place, iii. 160.
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† *Mitylene*, i. 214. iv. 208.

† *Mityleneans* puniſhed by Lucullus for having joined Marius's party, iii. 307.

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† *Moloſſians*, iii. 61. *et ſeq.*

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† *Molus*, river, iii. 241.

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‡ *Morius*, river, iii. 237.

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† *Munda*, city of, iv. 386.

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† *Munychia*, Epimenides foretells that fort would one day contribute to the miſeries of Athens, i. 211. v. 32, 340.

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Mutianus, general of the army in Syria when Galba is declared emperor, vi. 233.

† *Mutina*, or *Modana*, Antony beaten there, v. 405.

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Mutius, a retainer to Tiberius Gracchus, made tribune through his intereſt, v. 197.

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† *Mycale*, mount, ii. 4. Battle of, ii. 289.

† *Mycenaeans*, a colony in Africa, iv. 12.

† *Mygdonia*, iii. 349.

† *Mylaſſa*, v. 22.

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† *Myrrhinus*, a borough of Attica, v. 245. *n.*

Myrtilus, cup-bearer to Pyrrhus. Gelon attempts to bring him into a plot to poiſon his maſter, but he diſcovers the plot to Pyrrhus, iii. 66.

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† *Myſia*, vi. 232.

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† *Mytilene*, iv. 166.

† *Myus*, a city given to Themiſtocles, to ſupply him with meat, i. 320.

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† *Nabathean Arabs*. Demetrius marches againſt them, and brings off conſiderable booty, v. 338.

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† *Naples*, ii. 368.

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† *Nauplia*, iii. 106.

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† *Naxos*, i. 18. The victory of Chabrias and Phocion there, v. 8. Colonized by Pericles, ii. 17.

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† *Nemea*, ii. 29. vi. 146.

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Neoptolemus, one of Mithridates' officers, beaten by Lucullus at ſea, iii. 306.

Neoptolemus, captain of Alexander's life-guard, after the death of that prince, endeavours to leſſen the reputation of Eumenes, iv. 35. Is defeated and killed by Eumenes, 43.

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† *Nervii*,

† *Nervii*, the moſt warlike of the Belgæ, defeated by Cæſar, iv. 349.
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† *Nice* in Bithynia, i. 27.
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Nicias, ſon of Niceratus, iii. 373. Younger than Pericles, yet often his colleague in the wars, *ib.* The nobility hope he will prove a barrier againſt the inſolence of Cleon, *ib.* He is equally favoured by the people, 374. Naturally timid and cold-hearted, *ib.* Applies his wealth to the purpoſes of popularity, particularly in public exhibitions, *ib.* Enfranchiſes a ſlave who had appeared with applauſe in the character of Bacchus, 375. His regulations with reſpect to the chorus that was ſent to the iſle of Delos in honour of Apollo, *ib.* He conſecrates a palm-tree of braſs, and a piece of ground, to Apollo, *ib.* Is pious to a degree of ſuperſtition, 376. Has ſilver-mines in the borough of Laurium, *ib.* Gives money not only to thoſe who deſerved his bounty, but to ſuch as might be able to do him harm, *ib.* Goes ſeldom into company, and pretends to be for ever intent upon the buſineſs of the ſtate, 377. His retainer Hiero holds out theſe pretences to the people, 378. His life is in fact a life of great fear and care, *ib.* When he takes the command, makes it his buſineſs to proceed upon a ſure plan, 379. He takes Cythera, an iſland well ſituated for annoying Laconia, *ib.* Recovers many places in Thrace, *ib.* Makes himſelf maſter of the iſle of Minoa, and the port of Niſæa, *ib.* Defeats the Megarenſians and Corinthians, *ib.* Chuſes to loſe his trophy, rather than leave two of his men unburied, 380. Takes the fortreſs of Thyraea, *ib.* The affair of Pylos and the iſle of Sphacteria is drawn out to a conſiderable length, *ib.* Cleon, the enemy of Nicias, who had prevented a peace with the

the Lacedaemonians, now raiſes a clamour againſt him about the buſineſs of Pylos, 381. Nicias declares he will freely give up to him the command, *ib.* Cleon promiſes to finiſh the expedition in twenty days, and performs his promiſe, 381, 382. Nicias is no ſooner clear of Cleon, than Alcibiades begins to oppoſe him in the adminiſtration, 383. Nevertheleſs he effectuates a peace with the Lacedaemonians, 384. Alcibiades endeavours to embroil the two powers again, 386. Draws the Lacedaemonian ambaſſadors from Nicias by falſe promiſes, and makes them appear to prevaricate, *ib.* Nicias deſires to be ſent to Sparta, to adjuſt the matters in diſpute, but does not ſucceed in that commiſſion, 387. The Athenians enter into alliance with the Argives, Mantineans, and Eleans, *ib.* Alcibiades is appointed general, and the war breaks out afreſh, *ib.* The quarrel riſes ſo high between Nicias and Alcibiades, that the people propoſe to baniſh one of them by the oſtraciſm, 388. Nicias and Alcibiades join intereſts, and turn the oſtraciſm upon Hyperbolus, *ib.* The Ægeſteans and Leontines deſire the Athenians to undertake the Sicilian expedition, 389. Nicias oppoſes it, but is over-ruled by the arts of Alcibiades, *ib.* The ſanguine and vain hopes of the Athenians, 390. Though Nicias is appointed general along with Alcibiades and Lamachus, he ſtill proteſts againſt the war, *ib.* Demoſtratus procures a decree that the generals ſhall have diſcretionary powers, 391. The oracle of Jupiter Ammon is conſulted, and gives an ambiguous anſwer, *ib.* All the Hermae, except one, are mutilated, *ib.* Other ill omens, 391, 392. The colleagues of Nicias are for proceeding immediately to action, but he oppoſes them both, 393. Alcibiades is ſoon called home, to take his trial for defacing the Hermae and profaning the myſteries, *ib.* There is now no end of Nicias's delays, *ibid.* The Athenians take a ſhip, in which were the Syracuſan regiſters, 394. In this the oracle of Ammon is ſuppoſed to have its accompliſhment, *ib.* Though Lamachus remains colleague to Nicias, Nicias has the chief authority, 395. He lays ſiege to the little town of Hybla, and does not take it, *ibid.* Razes Hyccara, *ib.* Draws the Syracuſan forces to Catana by ſtratagem, and in the mean time ſeizes the ports of Syracuſe, and encamps in an advantageous ſituation, 396. Attacks, with ſome ſucceſs, the Syracuſans on their return, *ibid.* The Syracuſans chuſe three generals, inſtead of fifteen, and impower them to act at diſcretion, *ib.* Nicias prevents his troops from taking the temple of Jupiter Olympius, 397. Winters in Naxos, a city between Syracuſe and Catana, *ibid.* The Syracuſans make another excurſion

as far as Catana, 397. Nicias, who is as vigorous in executing as he is ſlow in reſolving, returns to Syracuſe, gains the peninſula of Thapſos, and gets poſſeſſion of Epipolæ, *ib.* Beats not only the Syracuſan infantry, but their cavalry, *ib.* Encloſes Syracuſe almoſt entirely with a wall, *ibid.* Lamachus engages the Syracuſans, during the ſickneſs of Nicias, and falls in the action, 398. Nicias ſaves his camp by ſetting fire to the machines before the entrenchments, 399. The cities declare for Nicias, and ſupply him with proviſions in great abundance, *ib.* The Syracuſans are thinking of a capitulation, when Gylippus arrives in Sicily, *ib.* He collects a conſiderable army, and comes to Syracuſe, 400. Offers Nicias a ſafe conduct, provided he will quit Sicily, *ib.* Is treated with ſcorn, *ib.* Defeated in the firſt engagement, 401. Beats the Athenians in the ſecond, by only altering the diſpoſition of his forces, *ib.* By a croſs wall cut through theirs, *ib.* gains an intereſt in other towns of Sicily, *ib.* Nicias falls into his old deſpondence, and applies to the Athenians, either for another army, or elſe to be recalled, *ib.* They ſend a reinforcement and money by Eurymedon, and reſolve to ſend Demoſthenes with a reſpectable fleet in the ſpring, 401, 402. In the mean time Euthydemus and Menander are appointed colleagues to Nicias, 402. Nicias gains ſome advantage by ſea, *ib.* Gylippus takes the fort of Plemmyrium, in which were lodged the Athenian ſtores and money, *ib.* This alſo cuts off their convenience of convoys, *ib.* Menander and Euthydemus force Nicias to give battle at ſea, and he is beaten, 402, 403. Demoſthenes arrives with a formidable fleet, 403. He, too, is ambitious to come immediately to a deciſive action, 404. Nicias repreſents to him the want the Syracuſans were in of money, and their being tired of Gylippus, but cannot prevail upon him to wait, *ib.* Demoſthenes attacks Epipolæ in the night, and has ſome advantage at firſt, but proceeds too far, and is entirely defeated, 404, 405. Demoſthenes gives his opinion for returning to Athens; but Nicias, afraid of impeachments there, oppoſes it, 406. Freſh forces coming in to the Syracuſans, and ſickneſs prevailing in the Athenian camp, Nicias agrees to return, *ib.* Loſes his opportunity by his ſuperſtitious fears of an eclipſe of the moon, 407, 408. Intent upon his ſacrifices, till he is ſurrounded both by ſea and land, 408. His fleet is defeated, and Eurymedon ſlain, 409. The Athenians inſiſt on his leading them off by land, but he reſolves to riſque another naval action, *ibid.* Abandons his great camp and his walls, *ib.* The great ſea-fight deſcribed, 409, 410. After the defeat of Nicias, Hermocrates, by a ſtratagem, prevents him from retiring

in the night, when he might have done it ſafely, 410, 411. The Athenians at laſt begin their march, with every circumſtance of miſery before them, 411. Nicias behaves on this occaſion with ſpirit and propriety, *ib.* Through a march of eight days, keeps his own diviſion tolerably entire, 412. Demoſthenes is ſurrounded at Polyzelium, and ſtabs himſelf, but the ſtroke does not prove mortal, *ib.* Nicias in vain offers conditions of peace, *ib.* Marches on to the river Aſinarus, *ib.* A bloody ſcene in the river, *ibid.* Nicias throws himſelf at the feet of Gylippus, who gives orders that the Athenians ſhould have quarter; but thoſe orders are ſlowly obeyed, 413. The Syracuſans erect trophies, *ib.* March, with their priſoners, in a triumphant manner to Syracuſe, *ib.* The Athenians are ſent to the quarries, and their generals, Nicias and Demoſthenes, ſuffer death, 414, 415. Many die in the quarries, 415. Some are branded in their fore-heads with the figure of a horſe, *ib.* Some are releaſed for their good behaviour in ſervitude, and ſome for repeating a few of the verſes of Euripides, *ib.* A poor barber is put to the torture for carying the firſt news of this great diſaſter to the magiſtrates of Athens, 416.

Nicon, a ſlave that belonged to Craterus, iv. 282.

Nicon, or *Nico*, the name of an aſs which Octavius met, and which he conſiders as a favourable omen, v. 451. The name of an elephant; his fidelity to Pyrrhus, iii. 109.

Nicocles kills Paſeas, and ſets himſelf up tyrant of Sicyon, vi. 143. Expelled by Aratus, iii. 2. vi. 148.

Nicocles, a friend of Phocion, v. 20. Is condemned to die, 42.

Nicocreon, king of Salamis in Cyprus, one of the preſidents in the theatrical entertainments of Alexander the Great, iv. 262.

Nicodemus, a Theban, both blind and lame, Epaminondas's obſervation upon him, ii. 317.

Nicodemus the Meſſenian, his excuſe for changing ſides, v. 250.

Nicogenes entertains Themiſtocles at Ægae in Æolia, i. 315. Gets him conveyed to the Perſian court in a woman's carriage, *ib.*

Nicolaus the philoſopher, vi. 101.

Nicomacha, daughter of Themiſtocles, i. 324.

Nicomachus, his paintings, tho' excellent, appeared to be wrought off with eaſe, ii. 251.

Nicomachus, a Greek ſettled at Carrae, attends young Craſſus in his Parthian expedition, iii. 455.

Nicomachus informs his brother Cebalinus of a conſpiracy againſt Alexander, iv. 290.

Nicomedes the Athenian, i. 324.

Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, reconciled to Mithridates by Sylla, iii. 245, 247. Viſited by Caeſar, iv. 326.

† *Nicomedia*, iii. 318.

Niconides the Theſſalian, an engineer in the ſervice of Mithridates, iii. 315.

† *Nicopolis*,

† *Nicopolis*, city of, v. 448.
Nicopolis, the courtezan, leaves Sylla her heir, iii. 214.
Nicoſtrata, the ſame with Carmenta. See *Carmenta*.
Niger, a friend of Antony's, ſent to him by Octavia, v. 439.
Nigidius, Publius, a friend of Cicero, v. 293.
† *Nile*. Water of the Nile, as well as of the Danube, kept in the treaſury of the kings of Perſia, iv. 275.
† *Niſæa*, iii. 74. v. 17.
† *Niſibis*, a city in Mygdonia, by the Greeks called Antioch, taken by Lucullus, iii. 349.
† *Nola*, ii. 368. iii. 225.
† *Nomades*. Thracians ſo called, iii. 427.
† *Nomentum*. Marſhes about it Caeſar intended to drain, iv. 390.
Nones of the Goats, *Nonæ Caprotinae*, a feaſt kept by the Romans, in memory of Philotis and the other ſervant-maids who impoſed upon the Latins, i. 87, 88, 149.
† *Nonacris*, Rocks of, iv. 323.
Nonius killed by Saturninus, his competitor for the tribuneſhip, iii. 148.
Nonius, nephew to Sylla, rejected in his application for the conſulate, iii. 227.
† *Nora*, caſtle of, iv. 47.
Norbanus the conſul, and young Marius, defeated by Sylla, iii. 250.
Norbanus eſcapes with difficulty from Brutus, vi. 85.
† *Noricum*, iii. 130.
† *Novocomum*, iv. 359.
Numa Pompilius, ſeveral Roman families trace their pedigree up to him, but not with ſufficient certainty, i. 148. Rather cotemporary with Pythagoras the Spartan, than with Pythagoras the Samian, *ib.* On the demiſe of Romulus, various debates enſue about the choice of a king, 150. It is agreed at laſt that the Romans ſhall chuſe one out of the body of the Sabine people, 151. The interregnum, how ſettled, *ib.* Numa is the perſon pitched upon, 152. He was a citizen of Cures, the ſon of Pomponius, and had married Tatia the daughter of Tatius, Romulus' colleague, *ib.* His character, *ib.* Believed to converſe with the goddeſs Egeria, 153. In his fortieth year when invited to the throne, 156. His anſwer to the ambaſſadors on that occaſion, *ib.* His father and his friend Marcius prevail with him to accept the crown, 157, 158. Vettius the interrex receives him in the forum, and his election is confirmed, 158. He has happy preſages in the flight of birds, 159. Immediately diſmiſſes the guards that had been kept on foot by Romulus, *ib.* To the prieſts adds one for Romulus, *ib.* Moulds the people to a ſofter temper, by the force of ſuperſtition, 160. His juſt conceptions of the firſt cauſe of all things, 162. Allows no images, nor bloody ſacrifices, *ib.* Said to have a ſon named Mamercus, to whom he gives the ſurname of Æmilius, 163. Inſtitutes the order of prieſts called pontifices, and is himſelf pontifex maximus, *ib.* The office of the *pontifex maximus* deſcribed, 164.

164. The holy fire to be preſerved by the Veſtal virgins, *ib.* In what manner lighted again, when it happened to be extinguiſhed, 165. The number of the Veſtals, *ib.* Obliged to preſerve their virginity for thirty years, *ib.* Their privileges, 166. Their puniſhments, *ib.* The ceremony of their being buried alive, when they broke their vow of chaſtity, 166, 167. The temple of Veſta built in an orbicular form, *ib.* Numa teaches the Romans to look upon the touching of a dead body as no pollution, 168. Teaches them to venerate the goddeſs *Libitina*, *ib.* Fixes the time of mourning, *ib.* His regulations concerning widows, *ib.* He inſtitutes the ſacred orders of the Salii and Feciales, 169, 170. The Ancilia, what, 171. He builds a palace near the temple of Veſta, and ſpends moſt of his time in religious exerciſes, 172. Makes the people reverent and attentive, *ib.* Many of his precepts reſemble thoſe of Pythagoras, 173. He brings the people to believe the moſt improbable tales concerning his connection with the gods, 174, 175. Not only with Egeria, but with Picus, Faunus, and Jupiter himſelf, *ib.* The ridiculous charm for thunder and lightning, *ib.* He builds temples to *Fides*, or Faith, and to *Terminus*, 176. Draws the people to agriculture, as another great means of peace, 177. Diſtributes the citizens into companies, according to their arts and trades, *ib.* This effectually incorporates the Sabines with the Romans, 178. He corrects the ſeverity of the law which impowered fathers to ſell their children, *ib.* Attempts the reformation of the calendar, 178—180. The temple of Janus ſhut for the ſpace of forty-three years in the reign of Numa, 182. The happy influence of his example, 184. Various accounts of his wives and children, and nothing certain but that he had a wife named Tatia, and a daughter called Pompilia, *ib.* Pompilia has Ancus Marcius by the younger Marcius, 185. Numa goes off by a gentle decline, *ib.* Buried with great honour, and ſincerely lamented by his ſubjects, *ib.* His books buried with him, and found ſome ages after; but the ſenate thinks proper to burn them, 186, 187. The misfortunes of the ſucceeding kings add luſtre to his character, 187.

† *Numantia.* Scipio's expedition againſt it, iii. 115.

† *Numantines* beat the conſul Mancinus, ſeize his camp, and take the Romans priſoners, v. 188. Out of reſpect to Tiberius Gracchus, they grant the conſul terms of peace, and let the Romans go, 189. This peace annulled at Rome, 190.

Number Eight, why ſacred to Neptune, i. 40.

Number Twenty-eight, i. 107.

Number Three, the perfection of it, ii. 63.

Numerius, a friend of Marius, provides him a ſhip for his eſcape to Africa, iii. 156.

Numerius, a partizan of Pompey's, taken priſoner by Caeſar, and ſent to Pompey with offers of peace, iv. 193.

Numidian cavalry, iv. 382.

† *Numiſtro*, ii. 392.

Numitor, his equity and prudence, i. 49. Ejected from the throne of Alba by his brother Amulius, i. 44. Reſtored by Romulus and Remus, 51.

Nundinae. The Roman market-days, why ſo called, ii. 177.

Nurſes, Spartan, in great eſteem, i. 123. The method they took with children, *ib.*

† *Nurſia*, a city of the Sabines, iv. 3.

† *Nymphaea*, iii. 67.

† *Nymphaeum*, a place near Apollonia, where are conſtant ſprings of fire, iii. 249.

Nymphs Sphragitides. See *Sphragitides*.

Nymphidia, natural daughter of Calliſtus, Caeſar's freedman, vi. 206.

Nymphidius Sabinus promiſes the ſoldiers of the praetorian cohorts, and thoſe quartered in the provinces, much larger ſums than could ever be paid, for declaring Galba emperor, vi. 199. Attempts to ſet up for himſelf, 204. The meaſures he purſues, *ib.* and 206. His death, 211.

Nypſius the Neapolitan, gets proviſions and money to pay the troops in the caſtle of Syracuſe for Dionyſius, vi. 36. He is defeated by the Syracuſans, but they make an ill uſe of their victory, *ib.* Sallies out, and ſets fire to the city, 39. Driven back by Dion, 41.

† *Nyſa*, a city in India, beſieged by Alexander, iv. 302.

Nyſſa, ſiſter of Mithridates, releaſed by Lucullus, iii. 325.

O.

OAK. Every Roman who ſaved the life of a fellow-citizen, was preſented with an oaken crown, ii. 158. Sacred to Jupiter, *ib.*

Oak under which Alexander pitched his tent before the battle of Chæronea, ſhewn in Plutarch's time, iv. 233.

Oarſes, ſaid to have been the original name of Artaxerxes Mnemon, vi. 106.

Oath, the method of taking the great oath amongſt the Syracuſans, vi. 49. The oath taken by the young Athenians in the temple of Agraulos, ii. 117, 118. Red-hot iron by way of ſymbol, thrown into the ſea by Ariſtides, upon taking an oath, ii. 447.

Oath between the kings of Epirus and their ſubjects, iii. 66.

Oath taken with reſpect to the judges at public exhibitions, iii. 283. By the conſuls, v. 296.

Obeliſci, iii. 191.

Oboli, iii. 191.

Ochus, Darius, would not viſit the kingdom of Perſia, tho' his native country, for fear of the expence in giving every woman a piece of money, iv. 315.

Ochus, one of the ſons of Artaxerxes Mnemon, finds means to get two of his brothers deſtroyed,

ſtroyed, ſucceeds to the crown, and outdoes all his predeceſſors in cruelty, vi. 139, 140.

Octavia, half-ſiſter of Auguſtus, and widow of Caius Marcellus, is married to Antony, v. 417. Makes a moſt affectionate and prudent wife, 418. Reconciles her brother and huſband, 422. Goes to Athens, and carries him conſiderable ſupplies, 439 Returns to Rome, 440. Is commanded by Antony to quit his houſe, which ſhe does with great reluctance, 443. Laments that ſhe ſhould be numbered amongſt the cauſes of the civil war, *ib.* Takes the reſt of Antony's children after his death, 471.

Octavius, Cneius, permits Perſeus to enjoy the protection of the temple in Samothrace, but guards againſt his eſcaping by ſea, ii. 290. Perſeus ſurrenders himſelf to him, 291.

Octavius, the conſul, drives Cinna out of Rome, iii. 164. Is a man of great probity, but adheres too ſcrupulouſly to the laws in time of civil war, and ſuperſtition has too much hold of him, 165. Declares he will not make ſlaves free of that city; from which, in maintenance of the laws, he excludes Marius, *ib.* Too much attached to diviners, *ib.* Seized and put to death by order of Marius and Cinna, 166.

Octavius, governor of Cilicia, dies, and Lucullus applies for that province, iii. 308.

Octavius, lieutenant to Craſſus, in vain endeavours to conſole him after his defeat in Parthia, iii. 458. Inſiſts on accompanying Craſſus to Surena, 463. Is killed in endeavouring to prevent the Parthians from carying Craſſus off, 464.

Octavius, Lucius, ſent by Pompey to ſuperſede Metellus in Crete, iv. 149. Is treated by him with contempt, 150.

Octavius, Marcus, his meſſage to Cato about the command at Utica, v. 111, 112.

Octavius, Caius, aſſumes the merit of being in the conſpiracy againſt Cæſar, when he was not, and ſuffers for his vanity, iv. 399.

Octavius, Marcus, tribune with Tiberius Gracchus, v. 194. Tiberius depoſes him, 196, 197.

Octavius, Marcus, and Marcus Juſteius, command the center of Antony's forces againſt Auguſtus, v. 450.

Octavius. See *Auguſtus*.

Odeum, or Muſic Theatre, built by Pericles, with many ſeats and rows of pillars, and a conical roof, in imitation of the king of Perſia's pavilion, ii. 20.

Odours, ſweet ones, how produced, iv. 226.

Oeconomics, a conſtituent part of politics, iii. 419.

Oedipus, his tragical legacy to his ſon, iii. 71.

Oenanthes, an infamous miniſter to young Ptolemy's pleaſures, is alſo a miniſter of ſtate, v. 176.

† *Oeneadae*, their territories ravaged by Pericles, ii. 29. Forced to take refuge within their walls, *ib.*

Oeneis, tribe of, iii. 285, *n.* 296.

† *Oeniadae*. Alexander undertakes to revenge their cauſe againſt

againſt the Ætolians, iv. 291, 292.
Oenopion, ſon of Theſeus by Ariadne, i. 19.
Oenus. See *Cnacion*.
Ofella, Lucretius. See *Lucretius Ofella*.
Oil. The opinion of the ancient phyſicians, that it is ſalutary when applied outwardly, and pernicious if taken inwardly, ii. 496.
Oily ſprings found on the banks of the Oxus, and the water of that river itſelf oily, iv. 300, 301.
† *Olbians*, iv. 12.
Olbius, tutor to Nicogenes's children, breaks out into a prophetic verſe, i. 315.
Old age much honoured at Sparta, i. 120, 130.
Oligarchy at Samos aboliſhed by Pericles, ii. 35. Alcibiades makes a feint of propoſing one at Athens, ii. 135, 136.
Olive. The ſacred olive at Athens, i. 212. Bough of the ſacred olive bound with wool, and offered to Apollo. See *Eireſione*.
Olive. One ſpring called ſo, and another *the Palm*, ii. 333.
† *Olizon*, i. 291.
† *Olocrus*, Mount, ii. 283.
† *Ologuntum*, v. 169.
Olthacus, prince of the Dardarians, pretends to deſert from Mithridates to Lucullus, iii. 322. Attempts to kill Lucullus, but miſcarries, 323.
† *Olympia*, oracle of, v. 131.
Olympian Games. See *Games*. Several Olympic games before the common æra of Olympiads, i. 97, *n*.
Olympian Earth, i. 29.
Olympias. The fidelity of Eumenes to that princeſs, iv. 50. She invites him into Macedon, *ib*. Early initiated in the myſteries of Orpheus and Bacchus, and greatly addicted to enthuſiaſm and ſuperſtition, 224. The night before the conſummation of her marriage with Philip, ſhe dreamed that a thunderbolt fell upon her womb, *ib*. Soon after, a dragon was obſerved to lie cloſe by her, *ib*. A ſaying of hers upon Alexander's pretending to be the ſon of Jupiter, 225. Jealous and implacable in her temper, 233. Her inhumanity to Cleopatra, Philip's other wife, 235. She adviſes Alexander not to be ſo profuſe to the objects of his bounty, 279. She and her daughter Cleopatra raiſe a party againſt Antipater, and divide the government during Alexander's abſence, 314.
Olympiodorus, an Athenian officer, behaves with great bravery in the battle of Platææ. See battle of *Plataeae*.
† *Olympus*. The height of that mountain, ii. 276.
† *Olympus*, a city in Pamphylia, ceremonies of Mithra and other myſteries performed there, iv. 144.
Olympus, phyſician to Cleopatra, v. 466.
† *Olynthians*, v. 245.
Omens that happened to Romulus and Remus, i. 53. To Themiſtocles, i. 300. To Antigonus, v. 361. To Camillus, i. 333. To Ageſilaus, iv. 71. To Alcibiades, ii. 122, 146. To Timoleon, ii. 218, 219, 224, 240, 241. To Paulus Æmilius, ii. 269. To Marcellus, ii. 398, 399.

To Pyrrhus, iii. 103, 105. To Marius, iii. 158, 160, 163. To Sylla, iii. 250. To Mithridates, iii. 227. To the Romans, i. 342. ii. 58. iii. 222. To Cimon, iii. 298. To the Athenians, i. 302. ii. 122. iii. 391. v. 343, 344. To Craſſus, iii. 442, 444, 445. To Alexander, iv. 239, 255, 259, 266, 269, 300, 320. To Cæſar, iv. 373, 395. To Galba, vi. 222. To Tiberius Gracchus, v. 202. To Caius Gracchus, v. 219. To Dion and Dionyſius, vi. 21, 26 To Mark Antony, v. 446, 447, 461. To Pompey, iv, 152, 199, 200. To Octavius, v. 451. To Otho, vi. 233. To Cicero, v. 292, 307, 324, 325. To Caſſius, vi. 85, 86. To Brutus, vi. 73, 85, 96. To Aratus, vi. 185. See *Prodigies*.

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Omiſus preſents Artaxerxes with a large pomegranate, and he accepts it with great civility, vi. 109.

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† *Oxus*, river, iv. 300.

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† *Oxydracæ*. See *Malli*.

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† *Pallantium*, vi. 177.

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† *Pandoſia*, iii. 82.

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Paulus Æmilius, Lucius, conſul with Terentius Varro, ii. 76. Fabius Maximus adviſes him to avoid an engagement with Hannibal, *ib.* His anſwer, 77. Killed in the battle of Cannae, 80, 258.

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conſulſhip, and loſes it, *ib.* Inſpects the education of his children, and procures them not only Roman, but Grecian maſters, *ib.* Circumſtances which led to the war with Perſeus king of Macedon, 265, 266. Perſeus, tho' a man of ſlender capacity, by the advantage of his fatherPhilip's preparations, defeats ſeveral Roman generals, 267, 268. Solicits ſuccours from ſeveral nations, *ib.* The Romans call Paulus Æmilius to the conſulſhip, *ib.* Omen of ſucceſs to him, 269. His ſpeech to the people, on being appointed to the command in Macedonia, *ib.* Perſeus, by his avarice, loſes the aſſiſtance of the Baſtarnae, 271. And impoſes upon his friend Gentius king of Illyria, 273. Æmilius, after a ſafe and ſpeedy paſſage, finds Perſeus ſtrongly fortified by the ſeaſide at the foot of mount Olympus, *ib.* He finds water for his troops, by digging at the foot of the mountain, 274. Finds out a way of coming at the enemy, thro' Perrhaebia, 275. Scipio Naſica undertakes to lead the troops that were to take this circuit, and executes it with great ability, 276. A Cretan deſerter informs Perſeus of his danger, 277. Perſeus ſends Milo with ten thouſand men, to ſeize the heights of Olympus, *ib.* Scipio defeats Milo, *ib.* Perſeus quits his camp and retires to Pydna, *ib.* His friends encourage him to give the Romans battle on the adjacent plains, 278. Æmilius is aſtoniſhed at the numbers and good order of the enemy, *ib.* Has the art to encamp without being diſturbed by the Macedonians, *ibid.* The different effects which an eclipſe of the moon has upon the Romans and Macedonians, 279. Paulus ſacrifices till he finds the deſired tokens, and then announces victory to the Romans, provided that they ſtood upon the defenſive, *ib.* A circumſtance which brings the Macedonians to begin the attack, 280. The battle deſcribed, 281—284. Marcus, ſon of Cato, and ſon-in-law to Æmilius, loſes his ſword, and finds it again with much difficulty under a heap of the ſlain, *ib.* Scipio, the younger ſon of Æmilius, is miſſing, but returns to the camp late in the night, 285, 286. Perſeus flies to Pella, and there diſpatches Euctus and Eudaeus, two of his treaſurers, with his own hand, 287. All his troops forſake him, except a few Cretans, and from them he artfully gets back ſome gold plate which he had given them, *ib.* He ſails to Samothrace, and takes ſanctuary there, *ib.* Æmilius in two days time becomes maſter of all Macedonia, 288. Perſeus engages one Orandes a Cretan to carry off both him and his treaſure, but the Cretan deceives him, 290. His favourite Ion, betrays his children to the Romans, 291. He ſurrenders himſelf to Octavius, *ib.* Behaves meanly when brought before Æmilius, 292. Æmilius's rebuke

to him, 292. His ſpeech to the officers of his army on the inſtability of fortune, *ib.* 293. Viſits Greece, reforms abuſes, and gives ſpecimens of his bounty, *ib.* Erects his own ſtatue at Delphi, on a pedeſtal deſigned for that of Perſeus, *ib.* 294. With ten commiſſioners from Rome, ſettles the government of Macedonia, *ib.* Exhibits games, *ib.* Has a happy talent for making entertainments, *ib.* Takes nothing of Perſeus's treaſures for himſelf, 295. Sacks ſeventy cities of Epirus, and yet the ſoldiers, to whom the plunder was given, have no more than eleven drachmae a man, 296. Returns to Italy, and ſails in great pomp up the Tiber, *ib.* The ſoldiers endeavour to prevent Æmilius's triumph, 297. Servilius's ſpeech on that occaſion, 298. The triumph deſcribed, 299—302. Æmilius loſes his two younger ſons, who were not adopted into other families, 303. The magnanimity he diſcovered in his ſpeech on that occaſion, 304. Different accounts of the death of Perſeus, 305. One of the ſons of that prince becomes clerk to the Roman magiſtrates, 306. Æmilius brings ſo much money into the treaſury, that the people had no occaſion to pay any taxes till the times of Hirtius and Panſa, 306. Acceptable to the people, though he was in the intereſt of the nobility, *ib.* Is elected cenſor with Martius Philippus, 307. His moderation in that office, *ib.* Sickens during his cenſorſhip, *ib.* The cordial regard expreſſed for him at his funeral, not only by the Romans, but perſons of the countries he had conquered, 308. Leaves a very ſmall eſtate behind him, *ib.*

Paulus the conſul, bribed by Caeſar, iv. 187, 359.

Paulus given up to the proſcription by his brother Lepidus, v. 323.

Pauſanias, commander in chief of the Greeks, at the battle of Plataeae, ii. 431, *& ſeq.*

Pauſanias, king of Sparta, marches into Attica under pretence of ſupporting the thirty tyrants, but really with another view, iii. 197. Obtains a truce, and carries off the dead body of Lyſander from before the walls of Haliartus, iii. 208. Retires to Tegea, 210. Deſerted by the allies, who put themſelves under the command of Cimon, 279. Unfortunately kills Cleonice at Byzantium, *ibid.* His unhappy end, i. 311. *n.*

Pauſanias kills Philip of Macedon for denying him redreſs under an inſupportable injury, iv. 235.

Pauſanias the phyſician, Alexander's letter to him on the uſe of hellebore, iv. 282.

Pauſanias ſent by Seleucus to ſeize Demetrius, v. 386.

Peace of Nicias, iii. 384. Between the Athenians and the king of Perſia, iii, 290.

Peace of Antalcidas, iv. 92. Between Sylla and Mithridates, iii. 246, 247.

Peace. An altar erected to her, iii. 290. Verſes deſcriptive of her, i. 183.

† *Pedalion*, a rock ſo called, iii. 334.
Pediaci, an Athenian claſs, i. 237. *n.*
† *Pedum*, city of, ii. 188.
† *Pegae*, ii. 28. vi. 186.
Peirithous, his friendſhip with Theſeus, i. 32. He marries Deidamia, *ib.* Aſſiſts Theſeus in the rape of Helen, 34. Attempts to carry off Corè, the daughter of Aïdoneus, and is torn to pieces by his dogs, *ib.*
† *Pelaſgians*, i. 41.
Pelaſgus, iii. 61.
Peleus, i. 9.
† *Pelignians*, ii. 283.
† *Pella*, v. 377.
Pella, Lucius, diſgraced by Brutus, vi. 83.
† *Pellene*, recovered from the Ætolians by Aratus, vi. 172. Taken by Cleomenes, v. 159.
Pelopidas, the ſon of Hippoclus, nobly deſcended, ii. 316. Makes a generous uſe of his wealth, *ib.* Cannot prevail on his friend Epaminondas to partake of his riches, and therefore partakes of his poverty, *ib.* Marries into a noble family, yet afterwards by his munificence leſſens his fortune, 317. Delights in the exerciſes of the Palaeſtra and the field, *ib.* The happy conſequences to the public from the perpetual friendſhip and harmony that ſubſiſted between him and Epaminondas, *ib.* Reſcued in battle by Epaminondas, 318. The Lacedaemonians become jealous of the Thebans their late allies, *ib.* The party in Thebes which was inclined to an oligarchy, betrays the Cadmeae to Phœbidas the Lacedaemonian, 319. The Spartans lay a fine upon Phœbidas, but keep the citadel notwithſtanding, *ib.* Put Iſmenias, one of the popular party in Thebes, to death, and paſs ſentence of baniſhment on Pelopidas and others, *ib.* Epaminondas is diſregarded as a poor philoſopher, *ib.* Archias and Leontidas become tyrants in Thebes, *ibid.* Leontidas ſends perſons to Athens to aſſaſſinate the exiles, but only one of them falls, 320. The Athenians encourage the exiles, *ib.* Pelopidas prevails upon them to attempt the deliverance of their country, *ib.* They acquaint their friends in Thebes with their reſolution, 321. Charon offers his houſe for their reception, *ib.* Philidas, one of their party, finds means to get himſelf appointed ſecretary to the tyrants, *ib.* Epaminondas inſpires the youth with an ambition to throw off the Spartan yoke, *ib.* Twelve of the exiles, of whom Pelopidas was one, having left the reſt of their party at Thriaſium, ſet out in diſguiſe with dogs and hunting-poles, *ib.* One of their friends is ſtaggered by the approaching danger, and the deſign near being diſconcerted, 322. They enter the city in different quarters, under favour of their diſguiſe and the ſnowy weather, and get ſafe to Charon's houſe, 323. The exiles and others make up the number of forty-eight, *ib.* Philidas had previouſly invited the tyrants to an entertainment at his houſe that evening, *ib.* A report is brought to Archias

chias that the exiles were concealed in the city, and he ſends for Charon, 323. His intrepidity before Archias prevents his being ſuſpected, 324, 325. Philidas drinks up the tyrants to a high pitch, and keeps up their expectation of ſome women he had promiſed, 325. A narrative is ſent to Archias, from Athens, of the whole affair, but he refuſes to read it, and ſays, 'Buſineſs to-morrow,' 326. Charon and others enter the banqueting-room, diſguiſed as women, and diſpatch Archias and Philip, *ib.* Pelopidas goes againſt Leontidas, who was at home in his own chamber, and diſpatches him with much difficulty, 327. Hypates ſhares the fate of Leontidas, *ib.* Epaminondas and Gorgidas join the deliverers of their country, with a conſiderable body of men, *ib.* The error of the Spartan officers in not ſallying out immediately upon them from the citadel, 328. Pelopidas is elected by the people one of the governors of Bœotia, *ib.* Takes the Cadmeae a little before ſuccours arrived from Sparta, *ib.* This action of Pelopidas juſtly called ſiſter to that of Thraſybulus, 329. The Athenians, alarmed at the arrival of a Spartan army on the borders of Bœotia, draw off from the Theban league, but Pelopidas finds means to embroil them with the Spartans again, 329, 330. His agents perſuade Sphodrias the Spartan to make an attempt upon the Piræus, *ib.* He defeats the Spartans in ſeveral rencounters, 331. Circumſtances which led to the battle of Tegyrae, 332, 333. The battle, 334. The ſacred band, firſt formed by Gorgidas, and improved by Pelopidas, 335. His anſwer to his wife, who deſires him to take care of his perſon, 336. Marches with Epaminondas againſt Cleombrotus, *ib.* Story of the Leuctrides, daughters of Scedaſus, whoſe *Manes* were to be appeaſed by the ſacrifice of a red-haired virgin, 336, 337. The battle of Leuctra, 338, 339. Pelopidas, then captain of the ſacred band, has a conſiderable ſhare in the honour of the victory, *ibid.* Pelopidas and Epaminondas are appointed joint-governors of Bœotia, and make very conſiderable progreſs in Peloponneſus, 340. They venture to keep their commiſſion beyond the expiration of their year, though the penalty was capital, *ib.* Lay waſte Laconia with an army of ſeventy thouſand men, *ib.* Drive the Spartans out of Meſſenia, and re-eſtabliſh the ancient inhabitants, 341. In their return defeat the Athenians, *ib.* Are capitally tried for keeping the command beyond the time allowed by law, *ib.* Acquitted, *ib.* Meneclidas forms a party againſt them, *ib.* Endeavours to put Charon upon a footing with them, 342. A heavy fine is laid upon that envious man, 343. The Theſſalians apply to the Thebans for aſſiſtance againſt Alexander the tyrant of Pherae, *ib.* Pelopidas takes the command of the ſuccours, and

recovers Lariſſa, *ib.* Endeavours to humanize the tyrant, but in vain, *ib.* The tyrant eſcapes out of his hands, 344. Pelopidas goes into Macedonia, as arbitrator between Alexander and Ptolemy, *ib.* Brings Philip and thirty other hoſtages to Thebes, *ib.* Philip propoſes Epaminondas as his pattern in the art and conduct of war, *ib.* Ptolemy kills the king of Macedon, and aſſumes the ſovereignty, 345. Pelopidas permits him to keep it on certain conditions, for the performance of which he gives his ſon Philoxenus as an hoſtage, *ibid.* Beſieges Pharſalus, *ib.* Alexander, the tyrant of Pherae, approaches it with his army, and Pelopidas is imprudent enough to go to him without guards, *ib.* The tyrant ſeizes him and Iſmenias, and makes himſelf maſter of Pharſalus, *ib.* Thebe, the tyrant's wife, viſits Pelopidas in the priſon, 346, 347. Epaminondas recovers him and Iſmenias out of the tyrant's hands, 348. Pelopidas goes ambaſſador to the Perſian court, and is highly honoured by Artaxerxes, 349. Obtains all the deſires, 350. Accepts none of the king's preſents, *ib.* The tyrant of Pherae extends his conqueſts and oppreſſions, 351. An eclipſe of the ſun happens, when Pelopidas is marching out againſt him, *ib.* He has the advantage in the battle, notwithſtanding his inferior numbers; but falls a ſacrifice to his reſentment againſt the tyrant, 352, 353. The ſorrow of the allies, as well as Thebans, for his death, *ib.* 354. His funeral ſolemnized by the Theſſalians, *ib.* The Thebans ſend an army to revenge his death upon Alexander, 356. The tyrant is ſlain by his wife and her three brothers, 357.

Peloponneſian war, ii. 39. Laſts twenty-ſeven years, iii. 385, *n.*

† *Peloponneſus*, v. 157.

Pelops, after he was ſettled in Peloponneſus, formed alliances in his family with the neighbouring princes, and became the moſt powerful king in thoſe parts, i. 3. Father of Pittheus and Lyſidice, i. 7.

Pelops of Byzantium. Cicero expoſtulates with him by letter for not procuring for him certain honours from thence, v. 298.

† *Peluſium*, v. 392, 460. vi. 81.

† *Peneus*, river, iii. 31.

Pentacoſiomedimni, an order of men in Athens according to the conſtitution of Solon, i. 219.

Pentathlum, what, vi. 143, *n.*

† *Pentele*, a borough of Attica, famed for its marble, i. 262.

† *Pentelcum*, v. 159.

Pentheus, iii. 466. vi. 226.

Peplum, or ſacred veil of Minerva, v. 342. *n.*

† *Percote*, a city given to Themiſtocles by the king of Perſia, to ſupply his wardrobe, i. 320.

Perdiccas, on the death of Hephaeſtion ſupplies his place, iv. 34. He eſtabliſhes Eumenes in Cappadocia, iv. 38. Marches againſt Ptolemy, 39. Is killed in a mutiny in Ægypt, 44. Had aſſiſted Roxana in taking off Statira and her ſiſter, 324.

† *Pergamus*, iii. 227. The library there, v. 445.

Pergamenians. Brutus's letter to them, vi. 54.
Periander entertains the wiſe men, i. 201.
Periander, the ſon of Cypſelus, vi. 143.
Peribœa, the mother of Ajax, married to Theſeus, i. 31.
Pericles, of the tribe of Acamantis, and the ward of Cholargia, ii. 3. Son of Xanthippus and Agariſte, both illuſtrious perſonages, 4. His perſon deſcribed, *ib.* Raillied by the comic poets, on the largeneſs of his head, *ib.* Damon, under pretence of teaching him muſic, inſtructs him in politics, 5. He attends the lectures of Zeno the Elean, *ib.* Moſt indebted, for his ſublime oratory and great knowledge of nature, to Anaxagoras, 6. Cured by him of ſuperſtition, 7. Patient under injuries, yet taxed with pride, *ibid.* The ram with one horn, found in the grounds of Pericles, what interpretation was put upon it by Lampo and Anaxagoras, 8. Pericles reſembles Piſiſtratus in his perſon and manner, 9. Engages in the adminiſtration, and takes the popular party, becauſe Cymon was at the head of the nobility, *ib.* Lives extremely retired, for the ſake of preſerving his dignity, 10. Overthrows the power of the Areopagus, by means of Ephialtes, *ibid.* Improves his eloquence by his philoſophy, and from the force of it gains the ſurname of Olympius, 11. Said to thunder and lighten as he ſpoke, *ib.* Thucydides's obſervation on the eloquence of Pericles, *ib.* 12. Several ſayings of Pericles, 12. He firſt endeavours to bring himſelf to ſome ſort of equality with Cimon, and for that purpoſe corrupts the people with the public money, 13. Cauſes Cimon to be baniſhed by the Oſtraciſm, 14. Cimon, during his exile, attempts to join his countrymen in the battle of Tanagra againſt the Lacedaemonians, but is refuſed that favour, *ib.* Cimon is recalled, and Pericles and he take different departments in the ſtate, 15. Pericles is unjuſtly charged with the aſſaſſination of Ephialtes, *ib.* Upon the death of Cimon, the nobility ſet up Thucydides againſt Pericles, 16. Pericles indulges the people more and more, 17. He employs ſixty gallies for eight months every year, *ib.* His policy in ſending out colonies, *ibid.* He removes the public treaſures of Greece from Delos, and takes them into his own cuſtody, *ibid.* Conſtructs noble edifices at Athens, 18, 19. Rebuilds the Parthenon, 20. Phidias is ſuperintendant of all the public edifices, *ib.* Builds the Odeum, or muſic-theatre, *ib.* Begins the long walls, *ib.* A good workman falls from the veſtibule of the citadel, and his life is deſpaired of, 21. A remedy for him is communicated to Pericles in a dream, *ib.* Phidias finiſhes the golden ſtatue of Minerva, and inſcribes his own name on the pedeſtal, *ib.* Pericles is accuſed of a variety of intrigues, 22. He offers the

people, to be at the whole charge of the public buildings himself, if they would suffer them to be inscribed with his name, instead of theirs, *ib.* 23. He procures the banishment of Thucydides, and becomes sole master of Athens, 23. Treats the people with less ceremony, but is strictly just, and does not add one drachma to his paternal estate, 23, 24. Holds the reins for fifteen years after the banishment of Thucydides, and for forty years in all, 25. Attentive to his own finances, *ib.* A servant, named Evangelus, is very useful to him in his private œconomy, *ib.* Is informed that Anaxagoras intends to starve himself, and hastens to dissuade him, 26. Sends deputies to all the states of Greece, to summon them to Athens, to consult about rebuilding the Grecian temples, and the best measures for preserving the peace of Greece, 26, 27. The Lacedaemonians oppose the requisition, and it comes to nothing, *ib.* The safety of his measures in war, 27. A saying of his thereupon, *ib.* Endeavours to dissuade Tolmides from his expedition into Bœotia, but Tolmides neglects his advice, and falls there, 28. Pericles's expedition to the Chersonesus, *ib.* That by sea around Peloponnesus, 28, 29. He sails with a strong fleet, and secures the Grecian cities in the neighbourhood of the Euxine sea, 29. Sends a colony of six hundred Athenians to Sinope, *ib.* Restrains the wild desires of the Athenians, who were possessed with a passion for conquering Sicily and other countries, 30. Opposes the Lacedaemonians in the sacred war, and puts the temple of Delphi in the hands of the Phocians again, *ib.* Inscribes the Athenian privilege of consulting the oracle first, on the side of the brazen wolf, 31. The people of Eubœa and Megara revolt; and the Lacedaemonians, under their king Plistonax, invade Attica, *ib.* Pericles bribes Cleandrides, the guardian of Plistonax, to retire, *ib.* Puts down ten talents for a necessary use, and the Athenians allow it without examining the purpose, *ib.* The real use of those ten talents, 32. He chastises the Eubœans, *ibid.* Agrees upon a truce for thirty years with the Lacedaemonians, *ib.* Makes war upon the Samians, at the instigation of Aspasia, *ib.* Some account of that celebrated woman, 33. Though Pericles had two sons by his wife, named Xanthippus and Paralus, they part by consent, and he marries Aspasia, 34. Has a son by her, *ib.* His operations against the Samians, who are at last entirely reduced, 35—38. He celebrates the obsequies of his countrymen who had fallen in the Samian war, and pronounces their funeral oration at Athens, 38. Upon a rupture between the Corinthians and Corcyreans, he sends Lacedaemonius the son of Cimon, with ten ships only, to the assistance

assistance of the latter, 39. Afterwards he sends a larger fleet, 40. Complaints made at Sparta against the Athenians by the people of Corinth, Megara, and Ægina, bring on the Peloponnesian war, *ib.* Anthemocritus the Athenian herald, is assassinated on his way to Lacedæmon, and all propositions of peace prove abortive, 42. Phidias is accused, by the party that opposed Pericles, of embezzling the gold, when he made the statue of Minerva; but he had contrived it so, that he could take off all the gold, and weigh it, 43. Phidias, however, is condemned, for putting his own figure, and that of Pericles, on the ægis of Minerva, 43, 44. Aspasia is accused of impiety, 44. The same accusation is intended against Anaxagoras, and a charge of peculation against Pericles, *ib.* He begs Aspasia off, and conducts Anaxagoras out of Athens, 45. He hastens on the war, *ib.* The Lacedaemonians desire the Athenians to banish all execrable persons; hoping that Pericles would be included in the number, *ib.* This attaches the Athenians to Pericles still more, *ib.* He warns the Athenians of the enemy's design to spare his lands when they ravished the rest, *ib.* Archidamus invades Attica, and proceeds as far as Acharnae: but Pericles keeps the Athenians close in the city, *ib.* He divides the lands in Ægina amongst the poor citizens of Athens, 47. He ravages the Peloponnesian coast with his fleets, and lays waste the territories of Megara, 48. The plague breaks out at Athens, *ib.* He mans an hundred and fifty ships, *ib.* An eclipse of the sun happens, when he is about to set sail, 49. He explains that phaenomenon, so as to remove the superstitious fears of his men, *ib.* Lays siege to Epidaurus; but the sickness amongst his troops breaks his measures, *ib.* The Athenians deprive him of the command, and lay a fine upon him, *ib.* His eldest son Xanthippus behaves in a very undutiful manner, 50. He loses that son, and several other persons of his family in the plague, *ib.* Retains his dignity of sentiment till the death of his last legitimate son Paralus, 50, 51. The Athenians, disappointed in their other statesmen, call Pericles again to the administration, 51. He repeals the law which he had made against bastards, having now himself only natural children left, *ib.* The rigour with which that law had been put in execution, 52. The small number of Athenian citizens, after the exclusion of those of the half-blood, and the plague, *ib.* Pericles is permitted to enrol a natural son by his own name, *ib.* That son is put to death by the Athenians, after the sea-fight at Arginusae, *ib.* Pericles takes the plague, but has it in a lingering manner, *ib.* His friends, when they think him insensible, and at the point of death, discourse

about his bed, 53. The remarkable obſervation that he made on that occaſion, *ib.* His character, 54, 55. Much wanted in the adminiſtration, and regretted by the Athenians, *ib.*

Periclidas ſent by the Spartans to Athens to requeſt ſuccours againſt the Helots, iii. 295.

Perigune, the daughter of Sinnis. Theſeus has a ſon by her, named Melanippus, whoſe ſon Ioxus migrates into Aſia, i. 8, 9. She afterwards, by conſent of Theſeus, is married to Deioneus the Oechalian, *ib.*

† *Perinthians*, iv. 317. v. 16. 253.

Periphemus, a hero to whom the oracle directs Solon to ſacrifice in Salamis, i. 206.

Periphetes, ſurnamed *Corynetes*, or the *Club-bearer*, ſlain by Theſeus in the territories of Epidauras, i. 8.

Periphoretus, Artemo, why ſo called, ii. 37, 38.

Peripoltas, the diviner, conducts king Opheltas into Bœotia, iii. 272.

Periſkulakiſmoi, ceremonies, i. 76.

Peritas, Alexander's dog. That prince builds a city of the ſame name in memory of him, iv. 306.

Perithois, one of the wards of Athens, ii. 112. iii. 388.

Perpenna joins Sertorius, iv. 19. Jealous of the glory of that general, and conſpires againſt him, 31. Kills Sertorius, in ſpite of the ſanction of hoſpitality, 32. Is taken priſoner, and put to death by Pompey, 33.

† *Perrhæbians*, ii. 275. iii. 40.

Perſæus, the philoſopher, commands in Acrocorinth for Antigonus, vi. 158. Aratus takes that citadel from him, 163. A ſaying of his, 164.

† *Perſepolis*. Alexander enters that city, iv. 276. Burns the palace of Xerxes there, 277.

Perſeverance, the effects of it, iv. 20.

Perſeus of the heroic times, iii. 275.

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† *Petra* in Arabia, iv. 165.
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† *Phariae*, vi. 193.
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† *Pharnacia*, iii. 325.

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† *Pharos*, the iſle ſo called, its ſituation, iv. 258.

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† *Pharuges*, v. 39.

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† *Philippi*, battle of, vi. 89—91.

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† *Philobœotus*, a hill ſo called, iii. 234.

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the theatre, 14. Philip of Macedon ſends ſome perſons to Argos, to aſſaſſinate him, 15. Philopœmen goes to reſcue the Meſſenians from Nabis, the tyrant of Lacedæmon, and ſucceeds, *ib.* Blamed for going a ſecond time into Crete, when his fellow-citizens were diſtreſſed by Nabis, 16. Philopœmen's ſaying concerning Ptolemy, 16. The Megalopolitans inclined to paſs an outlawry againſt him, *ib.* While in Crete, he outdoes the Cretans themſelves in art and ſtratagem, 17. At his return, he finds Philip beaten by Flaminius, and Nabis engaged in war both with the Romans and Achæans, *ib.* He is choſen general of the Achæans, *ib.* Ventures to act at ſea, and is ſhamefully beaten, *ib.* Puts to ſea again, to relieve Gythium, and ſucceeds, *ib.* 18. Nabis comes upon him as he was marching through a difficult paſs, 18. He puts Nabis and the Lacedæmonians to the route, and kills many as they endeavour to regain their city in the night, *ib.* This gives umbrage to Flaminius, who makes peace with Nabis, 19. Nabis is aſſaſſinated by the Ætolians, Philopœmen ſeizes Sparta, and joins it to the Achæan league, *ib.* The Lacedæmonians ſell the houſe and goods of Nabis, and, by a public order give the money to Philopœmen, *ib.* Timolaus is commiſſioned to acquaint him with that order, *ib.* Philopœmen refuſes the money, *ib.* What he ſaid on the occaſion, 19, 20. The Lacedæmonians having thoughts of withdrawing from the league, Diophanes, then general of the Achæans, goes with Flaminius to chaſtiſe them, 20. Philopoemen enters Sparta, and ſhuts its gates upon them both, *ib.* On a freſh complaint againſt the Spartans, he puts eighty of their citizens to death, demoliſhes their walls, and adds great part of their territory to that of Megalopolis, *ib.* Compels them to give their children an Achæan education, 21. Laments that he had not the command of the Achæans when Antiochus and the Syrians behaved with ſo little regard to diſcipline in Greece, 21. Contends with the Romans, after they had eſtabliſhed themſelves in Greece, 22. A ſaying of his on that occaſion, *ib.* Elected general of the Achæans the eighth time, when ſeventy years of age, *ib.* Says, there was no great account to be made of a man who ſuffered himſelf to be taken alive, *ib.* Dinocrates draws Meſſene off from the league, 23. Philopoemen, tho' ſick, marches againſt him with a ſmall corps of Megalopolitan volunteers, *ib.* Repulſes Dinocrates; but ſome freſh troops coming up, he is puſhed upon the rocks, and his horſe throws him, 24. Is taken alive, carried off in an ignominious manner, and put in priſon, *ib.* The Meſſenians themſelves lament his fall, *ib.* The Achæans demand him, 25. Dinocrates opens

opens the dungeon in the night, and ſends in his ſervant with a doſe of poiſon, 25. Philopoemen enquires whether the Megalopolitan cavalry had eſcaped, *ib.* Being anſwered in the affirmative, he drinks off the poiſon with great ſatisfaction, *ib.* His death fills all Achaia with grief and lamentation, *ib.* The Achæans march againſt the Meſſenians, who open their gates, 26. Dinocrates, to prevent their revenge, kills himſelf, *ib.* The proceſſion of the Achæans to Megalopolis with his remains *ib.* A Roman endeavours long after to get his ſtatues pulled down, but Mummius forbids it, 27.

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Philoxenus, Alexander's lieutenant on the ſea-coaſt, ſeverely reproved by him for an infamous propoſal, iv. 251.

Philoxenus, ſon of Ptolemy, ſent to Pelopidas from Macedonia as an hoſtage, ii. 345.

Philoxenus the poet, his dithyrambics, iv. 232.

Philoxenus marries Theſte the ſiſter of Dionyſius the Elder, vi. 18.

† *Philarus*, river, iii. 209.

† *Philaſians*, iv. 95. vi. 176.

† *Phlius*, v. 160.

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† *Phocæa*, iii. 176.

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to excel, both in the civil and military department, which was not the cuſtom in his time, 9. Elected general five-and-forty times, *ib.* Popular, though he oppoſed the inclinations of the citizens, 10. Several ſayings of his, 10, 11, 12. He had a deal of goodneſs and humanity, notwithſtanding the ſeverity of his expreſſions, 13. He marches againſt Philip of Macedon's forces, which were endeavouring to eſtabliſh themſelves in Euboea, and defeats them, 14, 15. Drives Plutarch out of Eretria, 16. Makes himſelf maſter of the fort of Zaretra, 16. Saves Byzantium from Philip, 17. Takes ſeveral of his ſhips, and recovers cities which he had garriſoned, *ib.* Is wounded, and returns to Athens, *ib.* Upon an application from the people of Megara, he fortifies their town, by building two good walls down to the harbour, as well as ſecures it on the land-ſide, *ib.* Demoſthenes carries it againſt him for war with Philip, but adviſes its being conducted at the greateſt diſtance from Attica, 18. Phocion's ſaying upon it, *ib.* The Athenians are beaten, *ib.* The people are with much difficulty prevailed on by the court of Areopagus, to put their concerns in the hands of Phocion, *ib.* He gives his opinion for peace; but for a peace, the conditions of which ſhould be previouſly known, *ib.* The error of the Athenians in not abiding by his counſel, 19. He will not permit any rejoicings at Athens on the death of Philip, *ib.* Reproves Demoſthenes for his invectives againſt Alexander, *ib.* Adviſes the giving up the orators which Alexander demanded, 20. Is in great eſteem with that prince, who will not receive the ſubmiſſion of the Athenians from any other hands, 20, 21. Phocion refuſes Alexander's preſents, 21. But applies for the liberty of his friends, 22. Alexander offers him his choice of four cities in Aſia, but he rejects the offer, *ib.* His houſe ſhewn in the time of Plutarch, *ib.* The excellent character of his wives, 22, 23. His ſon Phocus wins the prize in a foot-race in the Panathenaea, 23. Phocus is of a diſorderly turn, and addicted to drinking, *ib.* His father carries him to Lacedæmon, to try what effect the diſcipline of Lycurgus would have upon him, *ib.* 24. Alexander applies to the Athenians for ſhips, and the orators adviſe them to refuſe him, *ib.* Phocion's ſaying upon it, *ib.* Harpalus traitorouſly brings off Alexander's treaſures to Athens, and attempts to corrupt Phocion among the reſt; but without effect, *ib.* Prevails upon Charicles, Phocion's ſon-in-law, to take money, 25. Charicles builds a ſuperb monument for the deceaſed miſtreſs of Harpalus, *ib.* Charicles is called to account by the people for the money he had taken, and deſires the protection of Phocion, which he refuſes, *ib.* Phocion's advice to the people upon

upon the death of Alexander, 26. He oppoſes the Lamian war, *ib.* Still diſapproves it, notwithſtanding the ſucceſs of Leoſthenes, 27. At the age of fourſcore, takes the command, beats the Macedonians, and kills their general Micion, 28, 29. Antipater, after his defeat in Theſſaly, is joined by Craterus, and defeats the Greeks, 29. Antipater marches towards Athens, *ib.* Phocion is ſent to treat with him of peace, and Antipater inſiſts that the conditions of it muſt be left entirely to him, 30. An account of thoſe conditions, 31. The Athenians are forced to receive a Macedonian garriſon into Munychia, 32. Menyllus a friend of Phocion, commands the garriſon, *ib.* He offers Phocion money, 34. What Phocion ſaid upon it, *ib.* On the death of Antipater, Nicanor is appointed governor of Munychia by Caſſander, 36. Polyperchon practiſes upon the Athenians, in order to get the fort into his own hands, *ib.* The confidence that Nicanor placed in Phocion, 37. Dercyllus forms a deſign to ſeize Nicanor, when he came down into the Piraeus, *ib.* Nicanor makes an attempt upon the Piraeus, and Phocion, who relied too much upon his honour, does not guard againſt him in due time, 38. Agnonides accuſes Phocion of treaſon, *ib.* Phocion retires to Polyperchon, 39. Deputies are ſent to the camp of that general to accuſe Phocion, *ib.* Phocion attempts to make his defence before Philip Aridaeus; but being often interrupted by Polyperchon, holds his peace, *ib.* He and others are declared guilty of treaſon, and ſent back to Athens to have ſentence paſſed upon them by the people, 40. An aſſembly of ſlaves, foreigners, infamous perſons, and citizens, who were taught to believe that they could not otherwiſe recover the popular government, decree the death of Phocion, 40, 41. Phocion labours to ſave his friends, but is not able, 41. The dignity of Phocion's behaviour in the laſt ſcene of his life, 42. What he ſaid to Thudippus, on his bewailing himſelf, *ib.* Other excellent ſayings of his on that occaſion, *ib.* A decree paſſed, that his body ſhould not remain within the bounds of Attica; nor that any Athenian ſhould furniſh fire for the funeral pile, 43. The laſt offices are performed in the territory of Megara, *ib.* The Athenians, ſoon repenting of what they had done, erect the ſtatue of Phocion in braſs, and bury his remains at the public expence, *ib.* They put to death his principal accuſer, *ib.* His ſon Phocus deſtroys two more of his accuſers, 44. The proceedings againſt him put the Greeks in mind of thoſe againſt Socrates, *ib.*

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† *Phocis*, taken by Philip of Macedon, v. 254.

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† *Phoenicians*. Their fleet beaten by Cimon, iii. 290.

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† *Phthiotae*, ii. 356. iii. 40.

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Pompeius, Aulus. See *Aulus Pompeius*.
Q. Pompeius Rufus, conſul with Sylla, iii. 155. *n.* 221. His ſon is killed by the tribune Sulpitius, iii. 135.
Pompey, ſon of Strabo, as much beloved by the Romans as his father was hated, iv. 117. His excellent qualities, 118. The beauty and dignity of his perſon, *ib.* Like Alexander the Great, *ib.* Flora's paſſion for him, *ib.* Simple in his diet, 119. His ſaying upon his phyſician's ordering him a thruſh, *ib.* Serves under his father againſt Cinna, *ib.* Saves himſelf and his father from being aſſaſſinated, and prevents the troops from deſerting, 120. Defends himſelf, and his deceaſed father, at the bar, with applauſe, *ib.* The praetor Antiſtius gives him his daughter, 121. He repairs to Cinna's camp, but ſoon after diſappears for ſome time, *ib.* On the death of Cinna, Carbo takes the reins, 122. Pompey raiſes forces in the Picene, *ib.* Marches to join Sylla, 123. On the way defeats three generals of the oppoſite party, *ib.* Scipio the conſul advances againſt him, and his men deſert to Pompey, *ib.* Pompey defeats Carbo's cavalry, *ib.* Sylla marches to Pompey, and ſalutes him Imperator, 124. Pompey goes, at the requeſt of Metellus, to his aſſiſtance in Gaul, *ib.* He is perſuaded to divorce Antiſtia, and to marry Æmilia, daughter-in-law to Sylla, 125. The affecting circumſtances of that divorce, *ib.* Æmilia dies in child-bed, *ib.* He expels Perpenna from Sicily, and recovers that iſland, 126. Puts Carbo to death, *ib.* Spares the Himereans for a bold ſaying of their countryman Sthenis, 127. Sails to Africa with a powerful fleet and army, *ib.* Seven thouſand of the enemy revolt to him, 128. His ſoldiers, with a ſpirit of infatuation, dig for treaſure about the ruins of Carthage, *ib.* He defeats and kills Domitius, 128, 129. The battle deſcribed, *ib.* Takes Hiarbas priſoner, and gives his crown to Hiempſal, 129. Reduces Africa in forty days, *ib.* Sylla ſends him an humiliating order, with regard to the diſpoſition of his troops, *ib.* The army expreſs their indignation, *ib.* At his return to Rome, Sylla gives him the ſurname of Magnus, 130. He demands a triumph, and gains it, after ſome oppoſition from Sylla, 131. Refuſes to flatter the army, 132. Gets Lepidus returned conſul, againſt the

the will of Sylla, *ib.* Sylla's prediction thereupon ſoon verified, 132, 133. Sylla takes no notice of him in his will, yet he procures Sylla interment in the Campus Martius, though oppoſed by Lepidus, 133. Lepidus collects the remains of the Marian faction, and ſets up for dictator, *ib.* Pompey is ſent againſt him by Catullus the other conſul, and ſoon defeats Lepidus and all his partiſans, 133, 134. Behaves diſhonourably to Brutus, who had ſurrendered Mutina, 134. Lepidus flies into Sardinia, where he dies of grief for the infidelity of his wife, *ib.* Pompey has intereſt enough to be ſent in aid to Metellus Pius againſt Sertorius in Spain, 134, 135. Sertorius expreſſes his contempt of him, 135. He is afflicted at the loſs of Lauron, which Sertorius burns in his preſence, *ib.* He defeats Herennius and Perpenna, 136. Fights the battle of Sucro, from which he eſcapes by quitting his horſe with gold trappings, *ib.* Behaves with great reſpect to Metellus, *ib.* Applies to the ſenate for money to pay his troops, and Lucullus, who was jealous of him as a competitor for the command againſt Mithridates, takes care to ſee the money ſent, 137. Sertorius is aſſaſſinated, and Perpenna undertakes to ſupply his place, *ib.* Pompey, by a ſtratagem, draws Perpenna into the field, defeats and puts him to death, 138. Very prudently deſtroys the papers of Sertorius, *ib.* Returns to
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s to Italy when Craſſus almoſt finiſhed the war the gladiators, and hapng to kill five thouſand hoſe ſlaves, acquaints the te that he had cut up war by the roots, *ib.* It pprehended that he will in his troops, that they raiſe him to the dictator-, but he diſmiſſes them nediately after his triph, 139. He reſtores to the unes of the people their hority, *ib.* A ſecond triph is decreed him, togeer with the conſulſhip, 140. aſſus is appointed his colgue, *ib.* They diſagree in ery thing, *ibid.* Pompey rmits judges to be apnted out of the equeſtrian der, *ib.* When conſul, he pears before the cenſors to ve an account of his having ved the campaigns required law, 140, 141. Craſſus d he are reconciled by a mmand announced as from piter, 141. Pompey leaves e bar, ſeldom appears in blic, and never but amidſt large company of friends d retainers, 142. Some acunt of the ſtrength and aucity of the Cicilian pirates, 42, 143, 144. Gabinius ropoſes an edict for ſending ompey againſt them, and veſting him with a moſt exenſive command both at ſea nd land, 144, 145. The eople, and Caeſar, for his wn views, approve the edict; ut it diſpleaſes the ſenate, nd one of the conſuls venures to ſay, "If Pompey nitates Romulus, he will not ſcape his fate," 145. After this

this bill is paſſed, Pompey procures an enlargement of his powers, 146. He divides the Mediterranean into thirteen parts, and appoints a lieutenant for each, *ib.* Numbers of the pirates are reduced, and the reſt retire to Cilicia, 147. He clears the ſea of all the piratical adventurers, in forty days time, *ib.* The conſul Piſo inveighs againſt him at Rome, *ib.* He returns to Rome, *ib.* Gabinius prepares a decree for depoſing Piſo, but Pompey will not ſuffer him to propoſe it, *ib.* Pompey re-embarks, and touches at Athens, *ib.* The honour the Athenians paid him, *ib.* He defeats the pirates on the Cilician coaſt, and compels them to ſurrender all their caſtles, 148. Places the pirates in inland towns, 149. Guilty of an invidious action, in attempting to ſtrip Metellus of his command in Crete, *ib.* The tribune Manilius procures a decree which gives Pompey the direction of the war againſt Mithridates and Tigranes, and makes him, in fact, ſovereign of the Roman empire, 150, 151. The injuſtice thereby done Lucullus, *ib.* The artificial behaviour of Pompey, when he receives the news, *ib.* He takes all opportunities to annul the acts of Lucullus, 152. The two generals have an interview, which only makes the breach the wider, 152, 153. Pompey ſeduces all Lucullus's ſoldiers, except ſixteen hundred, *ib.* Lucullus departs for Rome, and Pompey marches in queſt of Mithridates, 153. Pompey's operations againſt Mithridates, 154. He routs him entirely near the Euphrates, *ib.* Mithridates flies with only three attendants, one of which was his concubine Hypſicratia, 155. Tigranes ſets a price upon his head, *ib.* Mithridates directs his flight through Colchis, 156. Pompey enters Armenia, on the invitation of young Tigranes, who had revolted from his father, *ib.* Tigranes the Elder receives a Roman garriſon into his capital, and makes his perſonal ſubmiſſion to Pompey, *ib.* Pompey continues to Tigranes the dominions that he has in his hands, and offers to make his ſon king of Sophene, *ib.* The father is very happy in theſe conditions; but the ſon murmurs, and is reſerved in chains for Pompey's triumph, 156, 157. Pompey marches in ſearch of Mithridates, 157. The Albanians attack him, and are defeated, *ib.* He grants them peace, 158. Defeats the Iberians, who were never conquered till this time, *ib.* Enters Colchis, in order to purſue Mithridates, who concealed himſelf about the Boſphorus and the Palus Mœotis, *ib.* Is called back by the revolt of the Albanians, *ibid.* Defeats them again, and kills Coſis, the king's brother, with his own hand, *ib.* Deſigns to viſit Hyrcania, but is prevented by the great number of ſerpents he finds on the way, 159. Takes his route to Armenia the Leſs, *ib.* Gives audience

audience there to the ambaſſadors of the Elymæans and the Medes, *ib.* Sends Afranius againſt the Parthians, who were laying waſte Gordyene, *ib.* Afranius defeats, and purſues them as far as the province of Arbelis, 160. Pompey's polite behaviour to Stratonice, favourite concubine to Mithridates, *ib.* The king of Iberia ſends him rich preſents, and he delivers them to the quæſtors, to be applied to the public revenue, 161. Finds in the caſtle of Cænon Mithridates's private papers, by which he diſcovers him in his real character, to be cruel and libidinous, *ib.* Goes to Amiſus, where he diſtributes governments before the war is finiſhed, though he had blamed that meaſure in Lucullus, 161, 162. Twelve kings appear before him there, *ib.* He is deſirous to recover Syria, and puſh his conqueſts as far as the Red Sea; and in the mean time takes meaſures for reducing Mithridates by famine, 162. Inters the bodies of thoſe Romans who fell under Triarius three years before, *ib.* Subdues the Arabians about mount Amanus, 163. Converts Syria into a Roman province, *ib.* Reduces Judæa, and takes its king, Ariſtobulus, priſoner, *ib.* Adminiſters juſtice, and decides diſputes between cities and princes, particularly between the Armenians and Parthians, *ibid.* Too indulgent to his own miniſters, *ib.* The inſolent uſe that his freedman Demetrius made of his favour, *ib.* and 164. Pompey's theatre beautiful and grand, but his houſe not oſtentatiouſly great, *ibid.* He marches againſt Petra in Arabia, 165. Near that place, he receives the news of the death of Mithridates, *ib.* Marches to Amiſus, where he finds preſents from Pharnaces, together with the body of Mithridates, 166. Moves with great pomp towards Italy, *ib.* His bounty to philoſophers and other learned men at Rhodes and at Athens, *ib.* At his return to Italy, has the mortification to find that his wife Mucia had diſhonoured his bed, 167. He divorces her, *ib.* Apprehenſions in Rome that he will keep his army on foot, and make himſelf abſolute maſter, *ib.* Removed, by his diſbanding it immediately, 168. The cities pour out their inhabitants, to welcome and conduct him to Rome, *ib.* Finding Cato the only perſon that ventured to oppoſe him in the adminiſtration, he endeavours to gain him by propoſing a family alliance, but is rejected, *ib.* Bribes publicly for one of his friends, *ib.* His triumph remarkable in being over the third quarter of the world, after his former triumphs had been over the other two, 169, 170. He advances the Roman revenues from fifty to eighty-five millions of drachmæ, and brings to the value of twenty thouſand talents into the treaſury, 169. Ruined by the weight of his own power, 170. Lucullus gets his acts confirmed, which Pompey had annulled,

led, *ib.* Pompey having loſt his majority in the ſenate, has recourſe to the tribunes of the people, 171. Clodius inſiſts on his ſacrificing Cicero, and he complies, *ib.* Caeſar, on his return from Spain, reconciles Pompey and Craſſus, *ib.* Caeſar, in conſequence of that union, is appointed conſul, and propoſes ſeveral laws agreeable to the people, but not to the ſenate, 172. Pompey declares he will defend thoſe laws with the ſword, *ib.* Marries Julia, Caeſar's daughter, who had been promiſed to Caepio, *ib.* Gives his own daughter to Caepio, who had been promiſed to Fauſtus, *ib.* The conſul Bibulus and others are driven out of the Forum by violence, and the law for the diviſion of lands is carried, 173. The acts of Pompey are confirmed, and the two Gauls with Illyria are given to Caeſar for five years, *ib.* Cato foretels the calamities that would fall upon the commonwealth, and on Pompey himſelf, *ib.* Lucullus retires from ſtate affairs, *ibid.* Pompey becomes extremely uxorious, *ibid.* Clodius behaves to him with extreme inſolence, 174. Culleo adviſes Pompey to repudiate Julia, others to recal Cicero, 175. He embraces the counſel of the latter, *ib.* Cicero, at his return, reconciles the ſenate to Pompey, and procures for him the important charge of ſupplying Rome with corn, *ibid.* He executes it with great ability, 176. During the wars in Gaul, Caeſar is privately making preparations for Rome for his future ſovereignty, 177. Pompey and Craſſus give him the meeting at Lucca, where it is agreed that they two ſhall have the conſulſhip the enſuing year, and Caeſar his command continued for five years more, *ib.* Marcellinus attempts to bring this matter to an eclairciſſement, 178. The anſwers that Pompey and Craſſus gave him, *ib.* Domitius is perſuaded by Cato to ſtand for the conſulſhip; but he and all his friends are driven out of the forum by an armed force, *ib.* Pompey prevents Cato from being elected prætor, by a pretence of having ſeen an inauſpicious flight of birds, *ib.* The greateſt part of the Roman empire is divided amongſt the triumvirate, 179. Pompey is to have Africa and both the Spains for his ſhare, *ib.* Craſſus repairs to his province of Syria, *ib,* Pompey exhibits games on the dedication of his theatre, *ib.* Julia's great affection to Pompey, 180. She dies in child-bed, and the child does not long ſurvive her, *ib.* Craſſus is ſlain by the Parthians, and thus the laſt obſtacle to a civil war is removed, *ib.* Pompey affects to deſpiſe Caeſar, 181. Suffers anarchy to prevail, in order that he himſelf may be appointed dictator, *ibid.* Is prevented by Cato for a time, 182. Suffers confuſion to take place again, *ib.* Bibulus makes a motion that Pompey ſhould be declared ſole conſul, and Cato approves it, *ib.* Pompey marries Cornelia,

lia, the daughter of Metellus Scipio, 183. Her great accompliſhments, *ibid.* He makes laws againſt bribery, and againſt encomiums upon perſons accuſed, but is extremely partial in the execution of them, 184. Takes his father-in-law for his colleague, the laſt five months of his time, 185. His governments are continued to him for four years more, and he has a thouſand talents a year allowed for the ſubſiſtence and pay of his troops, *ib.* Caeſar's friends demand that he ſhould either have another conſulſhip, or the term of his governments prolonged, and Pompey favours that requiſition; but Cato's ill-timed ſeverity prevents any accommodation, *ib.* Pompey ſends for the two legions he had lent Caeſar, and Caeſar ſends them home liberally rewarded, *ib.* Great rejoicings are made in Italy for Pompey's recovery from ſickneſs, 186. He is lulled aſleep with the pride of power, and makes no preparations for war, *ib.* Caeſar, now not far from Italy, ſends his ſoldiers to vote in elections, and makes powerful friends in Rome by his money, 187. Curio the tribune makes plauſible propoſals in the name of Caeſar, *ib.* The conſul Marcellus inſiſts that Caeſar ſhould be declared an enemy to the ſtate, if he did not lay down his arms, 188. Caeſar's friends remonſtrate, and make other motions, but in vain; and Marcellus, at the head of the ſenate, marches out of the city to Pompey, *ib.* Pompey has no ſucceſs in the new levies, *ibid.* Cicero endeavours to bring about a reconciliation, but without effect, 189. Caeſar, having ſeized Ariminum, marches with a ſmall body of men, and paſſes the Rubicon, *ib.* Tullus aſks Pompey what forces he has ready for the war, and receives an unſatisfactory anſwer, 190. Pompey is inveſted with diſcretionary powers, *ib.* He declares he will conſider thoſe who remain in Rome as the partiſans of Caeſar, 191. Caeſar arrives at Rome, and is ſevere to no man but the tribune Metellus, who endeavours to prevent his touching the money in the public treaſury, *ib.* Caeſar haſtens to drive Pompey out of Italy, before his forces could arrive from Spain, *ib.* Pompey ſails from Brunduſium to Dyrrachium, having firſt filled the principal ſtreets of Brunduſium with ſharp ſtakes, and covered them with earth, 192. Caeſar having made himſelf maſter of all Italy in ſixty days, marches into Spain with an intent to gain Pompey's forces there, 193. Pompey exerciſes his new-raiſed troops with great diligence and activity, *ibid.* Many kings and princes repair to his camp, and he has a complete ſenate about him, 194. Even Labienus and Brutus repair to his ſtandard, *ibid.* Cicero, though he had adviſed otherwiſe, and Tidius Sextius, though extremely old, do the ſame, *ib.* The humane decree made at the motion of Cato,

Cato, 195. Caeſar, having made himſelf maſter of Pompey's forces in Spain, marches back through Italy, ſails to Oricum, and ſends Vibullius Rufus to Pompey with propoſals of peace, *ib.* Pompey, inſtead of accepting the propoſals, ſecures the ports and ſtrong holds, *ib.* Caeſar often attacks Pompey's entrenchments, and in one of thoſe attacks is in danger of loſing his whole army, 196. Pompey does not purſue his advantage, *ibid.* Caeſar, for want of proviſions, is forced to decamp, and takes his way to Theſſaly, 127. Upon this, Pompey's troops are too much elated, and impatient for a deciſive action, *ib.* Afranius adviſes Pompey to regain Italy, *ib.* His reaſons for refuſing that advice, *ib.* He purſues Caeſar, and comes up with him on the plains of Pharſalia, 198, 199. Is teazed into a battle, againſt his better judgment, *ib.* His dream, 199. Another preſage of his defeat, 200. Caeſar's ſaying when he perceived the enemy prepared for battle, *ib.* The diſpoſition of the two armies, 201. Pompey orders his to wait for the enemy's charge, 202. The numbers on each ſide, *ib.* The battle, 203, 204. Pompey quits his ranks, and retires to his camp; but finding that not ſecure, he changes his habit and flies, 205. The number of the ſlain, 206. The enemy finds Pompey's camp full of preparations of feſtivity, *ibid.* Pompey finding himſelf not purſued, quits his horſe, paſſes by Lariſſa, and comes to Tempe, *ib.* Goes down to the ſea-coaſt, and paſſes the remainder of the night in a fiſherman's cabin, *ib.* Coaſts along in a ſmall river boat, 207. Is taken up by Peticius, a Roman citizen, into a ſhip of burthen, *ib.* The perſons he took with him, *ib.* Steers for Mitylene to take up Cornelia and his ſon, 208. The diſtreſsful meeting, *ib.* The advice he gave the people of Mitylene, 209. He complains to Cratippus of providence, *ib.* Sets ſail with his wife and friends, 210. Touches at Attalia, where he is joined by ſome Cilician gallies, *ib.* Finds in a little time ſixty ſenators about him, *ib.* Is informed that his fleet is entire, and that Cato is gone with it to Africa, *ib.* Laments his great error in giving Caeſar battle at a diſtance from his fleet, *ib.* Raiſes men and money, *ib.* Deliberates about the country he ſhould retire to, and fixes at laſt upon Egypt, 211. Notifies his arrival to Ptolemy, *ibid.* The young king demands of his council in what manner he ought to treat him, and concludes to put him to death, 212. A boat is ſent to receive him, *ib.* Cornelia divines his fate, 213. The laſt words he ſaid to her, *ibid.* Ptolemy's people ſit ſullen in the boat, *ib.* Aſſaſſinate Pompey as he is getting out, 214. Dies the day after his birth-day, at the age of fifty-nine, *ibid.* Cornelia makes her eſcape, *ib.* The body of Pompey is thrown out naked, *ib.*

Buried by his freedman Philip, and an old Roman ſoldier, who was a ſojourner in Egypt, 214, 215. Caeſar arrives in Egypt, and executes vengeance on the murderers of Pompey, 216.

Pompey the Younger, or Sextus, ſeizes Sicily, and infeſts the Italian coaſts, v. 418. His anſwer to Mark Antony, *ib.* Menas propoſes to make him maſter of the world, 419. His anſwer to Menas, *ib.*

Pompilia, daughter of Numa, i. 184.

Pompon, ſon of Numa, i. 184.

Pomponia, the wife of Quintus Cicero, v. 326.

Pomponius, the father of Numa, perſuades his ſon to accept the Roman crown, i. 157.

Pomponius the praetor gives a conciſe but plain account of the loſs of the battle at the Thraſymenian lake, ii. 60, 61.

Pimponius wounded and taken priſoner by Mithridates, iii. 321. He anſwers with a dignity becoming a Roman, to Mithridates's propoſal, *ib.*

Pomponius killed in defence of Caius Gracchus, v. 226.

Pontifices, inſtituted by Numa, i. 163.

Pontifex Maximus, his office, i. 164.

Pontius Cominius aſcends the capitol to inform the ſenate of Camillus's victory over the Gauls, i. 356.

Pontius, a ſervant of a Roman of that name, meets Sylla in a prophetic rapture, and tells him he brings him ſucceſs from Bellona, iii. 251.

Pontius Glaucus, the title of one of Cicero's poems, v. 272.

† *Pontus*, iii. 228.

Popedius Silo attempts to intimidate Cato when a child, v. 46.

Popilius, the prætor, baniſhes the friends of Tiberius Gracchus, v. 213. Obliged to quit Italy himſelf, *ib.*

Popilius, the tribune, murders Cicero, though defended by him under an accuſation of parricide, v. 325.

Popilius Caius, iv. 329.

Popilius Laena, his addreſs to Brutus and Caſſius, vi. 65. His diſcourſe with Caeſar, 66.

Poplicola. See *Publicola*.

Poplicola, one of Antony's lieutenants, v. 450.

Poppaca, the wife of Criſpinus, her connections with Otho and Nero, vi. 216, 217.

Populace, whether moſt inſolent to good men when government proſpers, or in the contrary circumſtances, v. 2.

Popularity, v. 120, 121.

Porcia, ſiſter to Cato the Younger, v. 45.

Porcia, the daughter of Cato, married firſt to Bibulus, and after his death to Brutus, v. 70. Her excellent character, vi. 63. Gives herſelf a private wound, by way of trial of what ſhe could bear, *ib.* Her diſcourſe to Brutus, *ib.* Her great anxieties on his account, 65. How affected at the ſight of a picture at Elea, 72. Said by ſome to have ſwallowed hot aſhes, by others to have died in another manner, 101.

Porcia Baſilica, or *Porcian* hall, built by Cato the Cenſor, v. 50.

Porcii, whence that family name, i. 258.

Porcius, ſon to Cato of Utica, gives

gives into debauchery, v. 118. Atones for it by the valour he exerted in the battle in which he fell, v. 118.

Porſena adopts the cauſe of Tarquin, and declares war againſt the Romans, i. 263. They retire before him, *ibid.* He beſieges Rome, 265. The bold attempt of Mucius Scævola, 265, 266. Porſena's generous behaviour to him, and to the Romans in general, 266, 268. They erect his ſtatue in braſs, *ib.*

Porus, one of the principal kings in India, his prodigious ſtature, iv. 305. Taken priſoner by Alexander, 306. When aſked how he deſired to be treated, anſwers only, 'Like a king,' *ib.*

Poſeideon, one of the Athenian months, iv. 366.

Poſidonius the philoſopher, iii. 169. Cicero his diſciple, v. 275.

Poſidonii, two, iv. 167, *n.*

Poſthuma, Sylla's daughter by Valeria, iii. 264.

Poſthumius the ſoothſayer requires to be bound and impriſoned till Sylla had conquered Marius, iii. 225.

Poſthumius Albinus rallied by Cato for writing a hiſtory in Greek, and aſking pardon for improprieties of language, ii. 469.

Poſthumius Tubertus created conſul, i. 268. Appointed dictator, to act againſt the Æqui and Volſci, i. 327.

Poſthumius, Spurius, rivals Tiberius Gracchus, v. 192.

Potamo the Leſbian, iv. 306.

† *Potamos*, a place in Attica, where the Athenians aſſign the daughter of Ariſtides a farm for her dowry, ii. 452.

Pothinus, v. 446.

† *Potidæa*, ii. 107. iv. 226.

Poverty, ii. 497.

Power, what its effect, iii. 257. Arbitrary power a burthen to the poſſeſſor, as well as to his people, ii. 227. vi. 171.

Præcia, a courtezan, her influence in Rome, iii. 309.

† *Præneſtines*, iii. 258.

Prætexta, a Roman garment edged with purple, i. 72, *n.*

Prætorian cohorts, vi. 234, 235.

Pranichus the poet, iv. 292.

Prayer, i. 174.

Praxiergidæ, the perſons who performed certain ceremonies about the image of Minerva, ii. 147.

† *Priene*, i. 201. ii. 35. v. 443.

Prima, ſaid to be the daughter of Romulus by Herſilia, i. 61.

Principia, the general's quarters in the Roman camp, eſteemed ſacred, on account of the images of the gods being placed there, vi. 208.

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Priapus, i. 43.

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Proculus, Julius, makes oath that Romulus had appeared to him in a form more than mortal, i. 150. Sent to offer Numa the crown, 156.

Proculus, captain of the guards to Otho, vi. 237.

Prodici, the guardians of kings who were minors, ſo called by the Lacedaemonians, i. 100.

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Prolyta and *Apolia*, daughters of Ageſilaus, iv. 88.

Promachus, victorious in a drinking-match, dies in three days, iv. 316.

Promathion, the hiſtorian, i. 43.

Prometheus, iv. 117.

Promontories of Diana, v. 32.

Prophantus, brother to Clinias; his wife ſaves Aratus, vi. 142.

† *Propontis*, iii. 309.

Proſerpine, the wife of Aidoneus, king of the Moloſſi, i. 34.

Proſerpine. The ceremonies of her feaſt, iii. 314. Her robe worn by the perſon who took the great oath, vi. 49.
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Protagoras, the philoſopher, ii. 50. Baniſhed Athens for aſcribing extraordinary phænomena to natural cauſes, iii. 407.
Proteas deſires of Alexander a proof of his being reconciled to him, and he gives him five talents, iv. 278.
Protheus the Spartan endeavours to prevent the war with the Thebans, iv. 100.
Prothytes and *Phœnix* demanded by Alexander of the Thebans, as authors of the war, iv. 236.
Protogenes the Caunian, a celebrated painter, v. 353.
Protus, a merchant, founder of Maſſilia or Marſeilles, i. 199.
Provcrbs. Nothing without Theſeus, i. 32. Buſineſs to-morrow, ii. 326. A platter will not hold a dolphin, iii. 332. He plays the Cretan with a Cretan, iii. 196. He carries hay, or wears wiſps on his horns, iii 426. Dead men do not bite, vi. 82. Such a one has need of nothing but parſley, ii. 240. The die is caſt, iv. 189. vi. 170. In wine there is truth, vi. 122. Woe to the conquered, i. 360.
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Proxenus the Macedonian, diſcovers a ſpring of an oily nature on the banks of the river Oxus, iv. 300.
Pruſias, king of Bithynia. Hannibal flies to his court, and is demanded of him by the Romans, iii. 52, 53.
Prytanes, members of the Athenian ſenate who compoſed a court of judicature, and continued in office the tenth part of a year, i. 221, *n.*
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Prytanis, the grandfather of Lycurgus, i. 99.
Pſammo the philoſopher, aſſerts the divine power and providence, iv. 261.
Pſenophis, prieſt of Heliopolis, i. 233.
Pſyche, the wife of Marphadates the Cappadocian, corrupted by the ſon of Cato of Utica, v. 118.
Pſylli, Africans who cured perſons bitten by ſerpents, by ſucking the parts affected, v. 102.
Ptœodorus of Megara, vindicated by Dion, vi. 15.
Ptolemais, the daughter of Ptolemy, given in marriage to Demetrius, v. 365, 381.
Ptolemy reſtored to his kingdom by Gabinius and Mark Antony, v. 392.
Ptolemy, natural ſon of Amyntas the Second, makes war upon his brother Alexander, king of Macedon, ii. 344. Is the father of Philoxenus, 345.
Ptolemy, ſon of Pyrrhus and Antigone, iii. 67. Killed in the battle with the Lacedæmonians on the way to Argos, 105, 106.
Ptolemy Ceraunus, king of Macedon, killed in battle by the Gauls, iii. 92. News of that event carried to Pyrrhus, *ib.*
Ptolemy Lathyrus, king of Egypt, appoints Lucullus a table in the palace, and offers him preſents to the value of eighty talents; but he refuſes them, and takes nothing but ſhips, which he was ſent by Sylla to procure, iii. 304.

Ptolemy, nephew to Antigonus, ſent as an hoſtage for Eumenes to come and treat, iv. 48.

Ptolemy Dionyſius, king of Egypt, deliberates on the meaſures he ſhould take with reſpect to Pompey, iv. 212. An account of his vile miniſters, who perſuade him to deſtroy that great man, *ib.* Defeated in battle by Cæſar, and never heard of afterwards, 215, 380.

Ptolemy Lagus, afterwards king of Egypt, one of Alexander's principal officers, marries Apama, iv. 35.

Ptolemy, king of Egypt, Cato's advice to him, v. 81.

Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, the propoſals Cato made him, v. 80. He poiſons himſelf, 81.

Ptolemy Philometor makes propoſals of marriage to Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, v. 185.

Ptolemy, the ſon of Chryſermus, viſits Cleomenes in priſon, v. 179. He is killed, 180.

Ptolemy Euergetes, his friendſhip to Aratus, and favours to the Sicyonians on his account, vi. 152, 154. Declared head of the Achæan league, 165. Demands of Cleomenes his mother and children as hoſtages, v. 164. Behaves with ſome degree of generoſity to that prince, and promiſes to ſend him back to Greece, 175. His death, 176.

Ptolemy Philopater, ſon of Euergetes, his effeminate life, and ill treatment of Cleomenes, v. 176. Orders the body of Cleomenes to be faſtened to a croſs, 182. A ſerpent entwines about the head of Cleomenes, 183. The ſuperſtitious fears of Philopater on that occaſion, *ib.*

Ptolemy, governor of Alexandria, killed by Cleomenes, v. 180.

Ptolemy the diviner, his prediction to Otho, vi. 221.

Ptoum, ii. 333.

Puanepſion, month of, i. 21.

Publicola, Valerius, deſcended from the ancient Valerius, who was the chief author of the union between the Romans and the Sabines, i. 243. Diſtinguiſhed under the kings by his eloquence and riches, *ib.* Employs both with great propriety, *ib.* The people riſe againſt Tarquin the Proud, on account of the injury done Lucretia, and her unhappy fate, 244. Valerius aſſiſts Brutus in expelling the king and his family, *ib.* Stands for the conſulſhip with Brutus, and loſes his election, 245. Is the firſt that takes the oath propoſed by Brutus, to ſupport the Roman liberty; tho' before he had retired from public buſineſs in diſcontent, *ibid.* Tarquin, by his ambaſſadors, propoſes to treat; but Valerius will not ſuffer them to be heard, 246. The exiled king demands his effects, and obtains a grant of them; notwithſtanding the oppoſition of Brutus, who calls his colleague Collatinus traitor, *ib.* The ambaſſadors, during their ſtay in Rome, corrupt the Aquilii and Vitellii, who were nephews to Collatinus the conſul, 247. The Vitellii draw in two of the ſons of Brutus, *ib.* They aſſemble in the houſe of the Aquilii, to bind the conſpiracy

racy with a dreadful ſacrifice and oath, 248. A ſlave, named Vindicius, diſcovers the plot to kill the conſuls, and informs Valerius of it, *ib.* He and his brother ſecure the conſpirators, and ſeize the letters that were to be ſent to Tarquin, 249. The conſpirators acknowledge their crime, *ib.* Brutus condemns his own ſons, and gives orders for their execution, *ib.* The firmneſs with which he beholds that ſcene, 250. The conſul Collatinus, being accuſed of favouring his relations who had conſpired againſt the commonwealth, is degraded, 251. Thoſe relations of his ſuffer death, *ib.* Publicola is ſubſtituted in his place, *ib.* Vindicius is rewarded for his information, *ib.* The goods of the Tarquins are plundered, and their palace levelled with the ground, 252. A field which had been in their poſſeſſion is conſecrated to Mars, *ib.* Tarquin applies to the Tuſcans, who give the Romans battle, 253. Aruns, the ſon of Tarquin, and Brutus, the Roman conſul, fall by each other's hand, *ibid.* The armies, after great ſlaughter, are ſeparated by a ſtorm, *ib.* Valerius avails himſelf of a ſtratagem to encourage the Romans, 254. The Tuſcans deſert their camp, and near five thouſand are taken priſoners, *ib.* Valerius triumphs, and is the firſt conſul that enters Rome in a chariot and four, *ibid.* Pronounces the elogium of Brutus, 255. Thence the cuſtom of funeral orations, *ib.* Valerius is envied for his governing without a colleague, and for his lofty houſe *ib.* Gains the name of Publicola, 256. Fills up the ſenate, 257. Paſſes an act for liberty of appeal from the conſuls to the ſenate, *ibid.* Exempts artificers, and others, from taxes, *ib.* What the value of an ox, and a ſheep, was in his time, *ibid.* He makes it lawful, without form of trial, to kill any man who ſhould attempt to ſet himſelf up for king, 258. Places the public treaſure in the temple of Saturn, and permits the people to chuſe quæſtors for the management of it, *ib.* Takes Lucretius, and afterwards Marcus Horatius for his colleague, 259. Is deſirous to have the dedicating of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, which was built by Tarquin, 260. But the ſenate gives that honour to Horatius, 261. Hiſtory of that temple, 262. Tarquin having applied to Porſena for aſſiſtance, that prince declares war againſt the Romans, 263. Porſena gains a conſiderable advantage, and purſues the Romans to the neighbourhood of Rome, *ib.* Publicola gives him battle, in which he is defeated, and carried off wounded, 264. Horatius Cocles, with two other brave Romans, defends the wooden bridge, till the Romans break it down behind him, *ibid.* Publicola ſtands chiefly upon the defenſive, 265. Defeats a flying party that was ravaging the country,

try, 265. Proviſions extremely ſcarce in Rome, *ib.* The ſtory of Mucius's attempt upon the life of Porſena, 265, 266. Publicola refers the diſpute between the Romans and Tarquin to Porſena, 266. Tarquin refuſes to abide by his arbitration, *ib.* 267. Porſena makes peace with the Romans, *ib.* The conditions of the peace, and the hoſtages which the Romans were to give, *ib.* The ſtory of Cloelia, one of the hoſtages, *ib.* Porſena leaves his camp full of proviſions for the Romans, 268. They erect a ſtatue to him, *ib.* The Sabines invade the Roman territories, *ib.* Marcus, brother to Valerius, defeats them in two battles, and is honoured with a triumph, 268, 269. Publicola conſults the Sibyls books upon certain natural appearances of an alarming kind, 269. Appius Clauſus, founder of the Claudian family, migrates, with a very conſiderable number of Sabines, to Rome, 270. The Sabines renewing the war, form an ambuſcade for the Romans; but Publicola, by a counter-ſtratagem, defeats them with great ſlaughter, 271, 272. He is honoured with a triumph, *ib.* Dies ſoon after, and is buried at the public charge, 273. The women continue the mourning for him a whole year, *ib.*

Publicus ſteals the ſcabbard of Mithridates's ſword, and ſells it to Ariarathes, iv. 166. See all the Publii under their family names.

Purple. That of Hermione much eſteemed, iv. 275. Preſerves its colour an hundred and ninety years, *ib.* In what manner prepared, *ib.*

† *Puteoli*, iii. 263.

Pyanepſion. The month ſo called. See Puanepſion.

† *Pydna*, ii. 277. iv. 289.

Pylades the muſician, iii. 14.

Pylius adopts Hercules, previous to his initiation, i. 36.

† *Pylos*, iii. 380.

† *Pyramia*, iii. 109.

† *Pyrenees*, i. 342. iv. 9.

Pyrilampes, a perſon connected with Pericles, ii. 22.

Pyronides, ii. 34.

Pyrrha, iii. 61.

Pyrrhidae, the ſucceſſors of Neoptolemus, ſo called, iii. 61.

Pyrrhus, the ſon of Æacides and Phthia, iii. 62. His ſaying concerning the Romans, 34. Some account of the peopling and poliſhing of his country, 61, 62. Has two ſiſters named Deidamia and Troias, 62. His father is depoſed, and the ſons of Neoptolemus brought in, *ib.* Pyrrhus is carried off, when an infant, by two faithful ſervants, named Androclides and Angelus, to the court of Glaucias, king of Illyria, and laid as a ſuppliant at his feet, 62, 63. Glaucias, after ſome heſitation, takes the infant into his protection, 64. Caſſander, king of Macedon, demands him of Glaucias, who refuſes to deliver him up, *ib.* Glaucias conducts him, at an early period, into Epirus, and places him on the throne, *ib.* His perſon deſcribed, *ib.* Believed to cure the ſwelling of the ſpleen, by touching the part affected with his toe, *ib.* About five years after, he goes

goes out of his own territories, to attend the nuptials of one of Glaucias's ſons, *ib.* The Moloſſians take that opportunity to revolt to Neoptolemus again, *ib.* Pyrrhus applies for protection to Demetrius, who had married his ſiſter Deidamia, *ib.* Accompanies Demetrius at Ipſus, and diſtinguiſhes himſelf in that battle, 65. Keeps for Demetrius the cities of Greece, *ibid.* Goes an hoſtage into Egypt, where he gains the favour of Ptolemy and Berenice, *ibid.* Marries Antigone, the daughter of Berenice, by Philip, her former huſband, *ib.* Antigone procures him men and money, which enable him to recover the kingdom of Epirus, *ibid.* He aſſociates Neoptolemus in the kingdom, *ib.* The kings of Epirus took an oath in the manner of the kings of England, 66. Neoptolemus attempts, or it is pretended that he attempts, to poiſon Pyrrhus, *ib.* Pyrrhus diſpatches Neoptolemus, 67. Has a ſon by Antigone, whom he names Ptolemy, *ib.* Builds the city of Berenicis, *ib.* Alexander, the ſon of Caſſander, applies to him for aſſiſtance againſt his brother Antipater, who had driven him out of Macedonia, *ib.* He demands the maritime part of Macedonia for his reward, *ib.* Lyſimachus, who was inclined to aſſiſt Antipater, forges letters as from Ptolemy king of Egypt, to retard the progreſs of Pyrrhus, 68. Pyrrhus detects the fraud, *ib.* Demetrius, who had likewiſe been applied to, arrives, kills Alexander, and gets himſelf proclaimed king of Macedon, *ib.* Demetrius is jealous of the growing power of Pyrrhus, and goes to ſeek him in the field, 69. They inadvertently paſs each other, *ib.* Pyrrhus finds Pantauchus, Demetrius's lieutenant, and gives him a great overthrow, *ib.* The Macedonians conceive a high opinion of his valour, and diſcover in him a ſtrong reſemblance of Alexander the Great, 70. Antigonus's ſaying concerning him, *ib.* Not eaſily provoked, quick to repay a kindneſs, *ib.* Saying of his, 71. After the death of Antigone, he marries ſeveral wives, for the purpoſes of intereſt and power, *ib.* Beſide his ſon Ptolemy, already mentioned, he has Alexander by Lanaſſa, the daughter of Agathocles, and Helenus by Bircenna, the daughter of Bardyllis, *ib.* Says he will leave his kingdom to the ſon who has the ſharpeſt ſword, *ibid.* The Epirots give him the name of Eagle, 72. Has intelligence that Demetrius is ſick, enters Macedonia, and penetrates as far as Edeſſa, *ib.* Demetrius marches againſt him, and he retires, *ib.* Demetrius meditates an expedition for the recovery of his paternal kingdom, *ib.* The other kings deſire Pyrrhus to exert himſelf on this occaſion, 73. Pyrrhus loſes his wife Lanaſſa, and the iſle of Corcyra, both which are gained by Demetrius, *ib.* He marches againſt Berœa, *ib.* His dream concerning Alexander the

the Great, *ib.* Takes Berœa, 74. Demetrius, apprehending that his army might revolt to Lyſimachus, if he continued his march againſt him, turns againſt Pyrrhus, *ib.* The Macedonians revolt to Pyrrhus, and he is proclaimed king of Macedon, 74, 75. Lyſimachus makes his appearance ſoon after, and pretending that he had contributed equally to the flight of Demetrius, demands his ſhare of the kingdom, which Pyrrhus agrees to, 75. The inſignificance of treaties between kings, *ibid.* Pyrrhus enters the citadel of Athens, 76. Adviſes the Athenians never to admit another king within their walls, *ib.* Takes the Grecian cities from Demetrius, notwithſtanding the peace he had made with him, *ib.* Demetrius's affairs being entirely ruined, Lyſimachus marches againſt Pyrrhus, debauches his army, and diſpoſſeſſes him of his ſhare of Macedonia, *ib.* 77. Pyrrhus's impatience of inaction is relieved by an application from the Tarentines, for aſſiſtance againſt the Romans, *ib.* Meton, the Tarentine, endeavours to diſſuade his countrymen from calling in a foreign prince; and to excite their attention, he feigns himſelf intoxicated, 77, 78. Cineas, firſt miniſter to Pyrrhus, draws him into a converſation, in which he ſhews him the vanity of ambition, but does not cure him of that diſeaſe, 79, 80. He meets with a dreadful ſtorm in his paſſage to Italy, 80. Makes the land with great difficulty, and marches with the ſcattered remains of his forces to Tarentum, 81. Corrects the luxury of the Tarentines, and introduces ſtrict diſcipline, 82. Has intelligence that Lævinus the Roman conſul, is coming againſt him, *ib.* Goes to the river Siris to reconnoitre the enemy's army, *ib.* What he ſaid on the occaſion, *ib.* His propoſal of acting as mediator is rejected, *ib.* The action on the banks of the Siris, in which Pyrrhus proves victorious, chiefly by means of his elephants, 83, 84. The battle deſcribed, *ib.* Notwithſtanding his victory, he ſends Cineas to Rome, with propoſitions of peace, which are rejected, 85, 86. The ſpeech of Appius Claudius againſt thoſe propoſitions, 86, 87. Cineas calls the ſenate of Rome an aſſembly of kings, 87. Fabricius ſent as ambaſſador to Pyrrhus, to treat about the ranſom and exchange of priſoners, 87, 88. Pyrrhus offers him money, which he refuſes, though his circumſtances were very mean, 88. Pyrrhus's phyſician makes Fabricius an offer of poiſoning him, 89. Fabricius diſcovers the traiterous deſign to Pyrrhus, *ib.* Pyrrhus defeats the Romans again at Aſculum, 90, 91. Says to thoſe who complimented him upon it, "Such another victory, and we are undone," *ib.* Receives invitations from the Macedonians on one hand, and from the Sicilians on the other, 92. Leaves a garriſon in Tarentum, contrary to the inclina-

tions of the people, and passes into Sicily, 92. Finds the most agreeable reception there, *ibid.* Ravages the Carthaginian province, takes Eryx by storm, and celebrates the games which he had vowed to Hercules, 93. Defeats the Mamertines, a numerous and warlike people, about Messane, *ib.* The Carthaginians court his friendship; but he insists on their evacuating Sicily, which they refuse, 94. His next object is Africa; and wanting mariners, he compels the Sicilians to supply him, *ibid.* Degenerates from a moderate prince into a tyrant, *ibid.* Ungrateful to Thonon and Sostratus, the persons who first introduced him into Syracuse, *ib.* Loses his influence in Sicily, 95. What he said on leaving it, *ib.* The Mamertines attack him, after his return to Italy, *ib.* He cleaves down one of their soldiers, who challenged him to single combat, 96. Marches against Manius Curius, who lay at Beneventum, and is defeated, *ib.* The battle described, 97. Returns to Epirus, enters Macedonia, defeats Antigonus, and is once more raised to the throne of Macedonia, 98. Marches to Sparta, at the request of Cleonymus, 99. His operations before Sparta, 100—104. He is repulsed, *ib.* On the invitation of Aristeae, marches to Argos, 105. His son Ptolemy is killed by the way, 106. He sends a challenge to Antigonus, 107. That prince's answer, *ib.* He enters Argos, *ib.* His actions there, 108. His orders are mistaken, 109. He takes the plume from his helmet, 110. Struck down by a poor old woman with a tile, *ibid.* Dispatched by Zopyrus, who cuts off his head, 111. A magnificent funeral pile provided for him by Antigonus, who gives his ashes to his son Helenus, 112.

Pythagoras, a Spartan, remarkable in the gymnastic exercises, visits Italy, i. 148.

Pythagoras the philosopher, went into Italy about five ages after Numa, i. 148. Affects to be thought something superior to the rest of the human race, 161. Uses a tame eagle to serve that purpose, and shews his golden thigh, *ibid.* Believes the Supreme Being to be incorruptible, impassive, invisible, and an object only of the mind, 162. Sacrifices nothing to him that has life, *ibid.* His precepts, 173. A statue erected to him at Rome, as the wisest of the Greeks, 163. Elogium of him, i. xxvi. xxviii. xxix.

Pythagoras the diviner, iv. 319.

Pytheas the orator, severely reproved by Phocion, for his impudence in speaking to the people, v. 24. Tells Demosthenes that his orations smell of the lamp, 244. Demosthenes's answer, *ib.* Joins Antipater, 265. Speaks to the Arcadians against the Athenians, *ib.* Is answered by Demosthenes, *ib.*

Pythian Apollo. See *Apollo Pythius.*

Pythian games. See *Games.*

Pythionice, the mistress of Harpalus, v. 25. He erects a mag-

magnificent monument to her memory, *ib.*
† *Pythium*, ii. 275.
Pythocles, ſon of Polycrates, a deſcendant of Aratus, vi. 142. Plutarch writes the Life of Aratus for the benefit of him and his brother, *ib.*
Pythocles, one of thoſe that ſuffered death with Phocion, v. 42.
Pythoclides ſaid to teach Pericles muſic, ii. 5.
Pythodorus lies in wait for Themiſtocles, i. 315.
Pytholaus, brother to Thebe, the wife of Alexander of Pheræ, aſſiſts her in diſpatching him, ii. 356.
Python, one of Alexander's officers, iv. 323.
Python the muſician, iii. 70.
Python the Byzantine orator, anſwered by Demoſthenes, v. 245.
Python, the ſerpent killed by Apollo, ii. 333.
† *Pythopolis*, i. 28.

Q.

Quadrans, a ſmall piece of braſs coin, v. 34. which each Roman citizen contributed towards Publicola's funeral, i. 273.
Quadrantaria, or Quadrantula, a name given to an infamous ſiſter of Clodius, v. 303.
Quaeſtor, the office what, i. 258. By whom firſt inſtituted, *ib.*
Quarrels. See Diſſentions.
† *Quinda*, iv. 51. v. 365.
Quintilis, i. 82.
Quintio, one of Cato the Cenſor's freedmen, ii. 482.
Quintius, Titus, and Lucius, brothers. See Flaminius.
Quintius, Lucius, the tribune, attempts to reſcind the acts of Sylla, but is oppoſed by Lucullus, iii. 308. Obtains a decree for recalling Lucullus, 350.
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† *Sellasia*, battle of, iii. 6.

† *Selybria*, taken by Alcibiades, ii. 141.

Sempronius, Tiberius, consul, ii. 361. Much beloved by the people of Rome, *ib.* Permitted to nominate his own successors, 362.

Sempronius Indistrus, or rather *Densus*, a centurion, without any particular obligation to Galba, stands up in his defence, and is killed in the attempt, vi. 225.

Senate of Sparta, of what number it consisted, i. 106. The method of chusing its members, i. 136. Is the principal support of the Spartan state, i. 106.

Senate of Athens, i. 221. v. 342.

Senate of Rome oppose Caius Gracchus with his own weapons, v. 217.

Senators, Roman, called *Fathers*, and *Conscript Fathers*, i. 58. An hundred members from the Sabines added to their number, 71. Judges of all causes, till the Gracchi added an equal number of the equestrian order to the bench, v. 214.

Senchis, the Saire, the most learned of the Egyptian priests, gives Solon an account of the Atlantic island, i. 233.

Seneca, in his friendship for Otho, persuades Nero to send him into Lusitania, vi. 217.

Senecio. See *Sossius*.

† *Senones*, i. 342.

Sentius, the Roman governor of Macedon, iii. 228.

Septempagium, i. 81.

Septimius, who had served under Pompey, assists in the murder of that great man, iv. 214.

Septimuleius connected with the consul Opimius, v. 227.

† *Sequani*, iii. 142. iv. 347.

Serapion, a young man who played with Alexander at tennis. What he said to that prince, iv. 278.

Serapis, iv. 320, 323. His temple and oracle at Babylon, *ib.*

Serbonis, an Egyptian marsh, v. 392.

Sergius the player, a retainer to Antony, v. 398.

† *Seriphus*, i. 306.

Serpent. The fable of its tail quarrelling with its head, v. 121.

Serpents said to be produced from the human marrow, v. 183.

Sertorius, Quintus, of a respectable family in the town of Nursia, and country of the Sabines, iv. 3. Lost his father when a child, *ib.* Had a liberal education given him by his mother Rhea, *ibid.* Makes his first campaign under Cæpio, against the Cimbri and Teutones, *ib.* Swims the river Rhone in his armour, *ib.* Acts against the same enemy under Marius, and goes amongst them as a spy, 4. Goes in capacity of tribune under Didius into Spain, and takes up his winter-

ter-quarters in Caſtulo, *ib.* The barbarians attack the Romans there, and kill many of them, *ib.* Sertorius gets out of the town, collects ſome ſcattered ſoldiers, enters it again, and puts the inhabitants to the ſword, *ib.* Diſguiſes his party in the clothes and arms of the barbarians, marches againſt the Gyriſœnians, and cuts them off, 5. He is appointed quaeſtor in the Ciſalpine Gaul, where he is very active in the cauſe of Marius, *ib.* Stands for the office of tribune of the people, and loſes it through the oppoſition of Sylla's faction, *ib.* Joins Cinna againſt Octavius, 6. Cinna is beaten in the Forum, and forced to quit Rome, *ib.* He and Sertorius collect freſh forces in Italy, *ib.* Marius returns to Italy, and offers to join Cinna, *ib.* Sertorius oppoſes it, till he is informed that Marius came upon the invitation of Cinna, *ib.* Remonſtrates to Marius and Cinna againſt his ſavage proceedings after victory, 7. Deſtroys Marius's Bardiæans, *ib.* After the death of the elder Marius, finds the war againſt Sylla in Italy badly carried on, and retires into Spain, 8. Pays toll to the barbarians for his paſſage over the Pyrenees, *ib.* His ſaying upon it, *ib.* Finding the Spaniards averſe to the Roman government, he lowers the taxes, and excuſes them from providing quarters for the ſoldiers, *ib.* Sends Julius Salinator to block up the paſſes of the Pyrenees, 9. Salinator is aſſaſſinated, and Annius, lieutenant to Sylla, gains his paſſage, *ib.* Sertorius ſails for Africa; but the Moors refuſe to receive him, and he returns to the Spaniſh coaſt, *ib.* Lands in the iſle of Pityuſa, *ib.* Prepares with ſome piratical veſſels to fight Annius, but is prevented by a ſtorm, *ib.* Paſſes the ſtreights of Gades, and lands in Baetica, 10. There meets with ſome mariners who give him an account of the Atlantic or Fortunate iſlands, *ib.* He is deſirous to go and live there, 11. The Cilician pirates leave him, and go to reſtore Aſcalis to the throne of Mauritania, *ib.* Sertorius ſupports the Moors againſt Aſcalis, *ib.* Sylla ſends Paccianus to the aſſiſtance of Aſcalis, *ib.* Sertorius defeats and kills Paccianus, *ib.* Takes the city of Tingis, *ib.* The ſtory of Antacus, who was buried there, *ib.* The Luſitanians invite him to take the command amongſt them, 12. The character of Sertorius, *ib.* A little changed in the latter period of his life, by his misfortunes, 13. As general of the Luſitanians, reduces the neighbouring provinces, and numbers come over to him, *ib.* The great uſe he made of a white hind, which he pretends to be a gift from Diana, 13, 14. With a ſmall force carries on the war againſt four Roman generals, 14. Beats Cotta at ſea, *ibid.* Defeats Phidius in Bætica; Domitius and Lucius Manlius in the hither Spain; and kills Thoranius, who was ſent againſt him by Metellus, 15.

Reduces Metellus to ſuch extremities, that he is forced to call in Lollius to his aſſiſtance from Gallia Narbonenſis; and Pompey the Great is ſent with another army from Rome, *ib.* Metellus marches againſt the Langobritæ, who had but one well in their city, 16. Sertorius ſends them two thouſand ſkins filled with water, 17. Metellus ſends out Aquilius to collect proviſions; but Sertorius lays an ambuſh for him, and cuts off the convoy, *ib.* Sertorius arms and trains the Spaniards in the Roman manner, *ibid.* Collects the children of the nobility from the ſeveral nations of Spain into the city of Oſca, and gives them maſters to inſtruct them in the Grecian and Roman literature, 18. By this means the children become ſo many hoſtages for the fidelity of their parents, *ib.* Multitudes lay themſelves under engagements, if Sertorius ſhould fall in battle, to die with him, *ib.* Perpenna arrives in Spain, and his troops inſiſt upon his joining Sertorius; the rather, becauſe Pompey had now paſſed the Pyrenees, 19. Sertorius applies to the ſenſes of the Spaniards, by a ſymbol, recommending to them unanimity, perſeverance, and obedience to their general, 20. The means he took to ſubdue the Characitani, who dwelt in caves upon a mountain in all appearance impregnable, 21, 22. Takes the city of Lauron, though Pompey was come to its relief, and lay cloſe by him, 23. Beats Pompey in the battle of Sucro, 24. Pompey is wounded, and obliged to quit his horſe; but eſcapes while the barbarians are quarrelling about the furniture, *ib.* Loſes his hind, but is happy enough to find her again, 25. Gives Metellus and Pompey battle on the plains of Saguntum; and Metellus being wounded, the Romans exert themſelves in ſuch a manner that they defeat Sertorius, 26. Sertorius retires into a fortreſs, while his officers aſſemble freſh forces, *ib.* He cuts off the Roman convoys both by ſea and land, 27. Metellus retires into Gaul, and Pompey ſends a meſſage to the Roman ſenate, expreſſing his diſtreſs, *ibid.* Metellus offers a great reward to any Roman that ſhould take Sertorius, *ib.* His vanity upon an advantage gained of that general, *ibid.* Sertorius forms a ſenate out of the patricians who had taken refuge with him, 28. His paſſion to be reſtored to his country, *ib.* His extreme grief upon the news of the death of his mother, *ib.* The greatneſs of his behaviour, and regard to the dignity of his country, in his treaty with Mithridates, 29. Mithridates's ſaying upon it, 30. Mithridates, by that treaty, is to have Cappadocia and Bythinia, and Sertorius to ſupply him with a general and ſome troops; the king, on the other hand, is to furniſh Sertorius with three thouſand talents, and forty ſhips of war, *ibid.* Sertorius ſends him a general, named Marcus Marius,

rius, *ib.* Perpenna and others cabal againſt Sertorius, and cauſe ſome of the cities of Spain to revolt, 31. Sertorius exaſperated at this, puts ſome of the children of the Spaniſh nobility to death, and ſells others for ſlaves, *ibid.* Perpenna draws Sertorius, by falſe pretences, to an entertainment in his tent, 32. The conſpirators take that opportunity to diſpatch Sertorius, *ib.* Perpenna gives Pompey battle, and is defeated and put to death, 33.

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Servilia, ſiſter to Cato of Utica, v. 45. Married to Lucullus, and divorced for infidelity to his bed, 69. Attends Cato in his expeditions, 69. Is left with her child at Rhodes, *ib.*

Servilia, another ſiſter of Cato of Utica, married to Silanus, v. 45, *n.* 66.

Servilia, the mother of Brutus, debauched by Cæſar, vi. 56. Sends Cæſar a billet, which is delivered to him in the ſenate-houſe, *ib.* Cato inſiſts that the billet is from the conſpirators againſt the commonwealth, and Cæſar ſhews it him, *ib.*

Servilius the augur, proſecuted by Lucullus for undue proceedings in his office, iii. 301. Acquitted, *ib.*

Servilius Cæpio. See *Cæpio.*

Servilius Iſauricus. See *Iſauricus.*

Servilius the prætor, ſent by the ſenate to forbid Sylla's approaching Rome in arms, is treated by the ſoldiers with great indignity, iii. 224.

Servilius, upon Pompey's refuſing to flatter his ſoldiers, declares him truly great, and worthy of a triumph, iv. 132.

Servilius, employed by Pompey to guard the Pontic ſea, meets him at Colchis, iv. 158.

Servilius, Marcus, his ſpeech in behalf of Paulus Æmilius, and in reply to Servius Galba, ii. 298.

Servilius Galba. Cato, at the age of ninety, accuſes him, ii. 473.

Servius Galba oppoſes the granting Paulus Æmilius a triumph, ii. 297.

Servius, a friend of Sylla, is candidate for the conſulſhip, and the people reject him, in order to ſhew their diſapprobation of Sylla, iii. 227.

Seſtius, Publius. What Cicero ſaid to him, v. 300.

† *Seſtos* taken from the Athenians by Lyſander, iii. 187.

† *Setia*, iv. 390.

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Sextilius, prætor in Africa, ſends a meſſage to Marius, to forbid his entrance, iii. 162. Marius's remarkable anſwer, 163.

Sextilius the prætor carried off by pirates, with all the enſigns of his dignity, iv. 144.

Sextilius, Lucullus's lieutenant, his exploits, iii. 337.

Sextius, Lucius, the firſt conſul choſen out of the plebeians, i. 379.

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Sextus Lucinus thrown, by order of Marius, from the Tarpeian rock, iii. 169.

Sextus Pompeius. See *Pompey* the Younger.

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† *Sicambri*, iv. 351.
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Sicinus, tutor to Themiſtocles's children, i. 298. Sent privately by Themiſtocles to Xerxes, *ib*.
†*Sicyon*, reſcued by Aratus from tyranny, iii. 2. vi. 148. Joins the Achæan league, 149. Famed for its painters, 153.
† *Sidon*, v. 438.
† *Sigliuria*, i. 263.
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† *Silvium*, iii. 251.
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†*Sinnaca*, mountains of, iii. 461.
Sinnis the pine-bender, ſlain by Theſeus, i. 8.
† *Sinope* delivered from the tyranny of Timeſilaus by Pericles, who ſends thither ſix hundred Athenian coloniſts, ii. 29. Taken by Lucullus, iii. 333.
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† *Sinueſſa*, ii. 396. vi. 230.
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†† *Soli*, a city of Cyprus, i. 234. iv. 263.

† *Soli*, a city of Cilicia, iv. 149.

Solon, the ſon of Execeſtides, a deſcendant of Codrus, i. 197. Connected with Piſiſtratus, not only by friendſhip, but by blood, *ib.* His father hurts his fortune, which originally was not great, 198. He endeavours to retrieve it by merchandize, *ib.* But has no attachment to riches, farther than they are uſeful, 199. This expreſſed in ſome agreeable verſes of his, *ib.* The uſe he made of his poetical talents, 200. Cultivates that part of moral philoſophy which treats of civil obligations, *ib.* Has little knowledge of natural philoſophy, *ib.* No one of the ſeven wiſe men will allow himſelf to be the wiſeſt of the ſeven, 201. Solon takes Anacharſis into his friendſhip, 202. Their converſation concerning laws, *ibid.* He is entertained by Thales at Miletus, and aſks him why he does not marry, 203. The contrivance of Thales thereupon, *ib.* The Megarenſians having taken Salamis, a decree is paſſed at Athens, that no attempt ſhould be made for the recovery of it, 205. Solon feigns himſelf inſane, and gets the decree repealed, *ib.* Different accounts of the manner of his retaking the iſland, 206, 207. The diſpute concerning the iſland continues, till it is determined by the Lacedæmonians, 207. Solon procures a decree from the Amphictyons for chaſtiſing the Cirrhæans, who had ſacrilegiouſly laid ſiege to Delphi, 208. Brings the long diſputes about the affair of Cylon to a concluſion, 209, 210. Prodigies appear, and Athens labours under ſuperſtitious fears, 210. Epimenides is called in from Crete, to perform his ceremonies of expiation, *ib.* His character, 211. He propheſies that the Athenians will one day repent of having raiſed the fortreſs of Munychia, *ib.* An account of the parties in Attica, and of the miſeries the poor laboured under, by reaſon of their debts, 212. To rectify the diſorders, Solon is appointed archon and lawgiver, 213. Many exhort him to aſſume regal power, but he declines it, 213, 214. He cancels debts, and makes an order that for the future no man ſhould take the body of his debtor for ſecurity, 215. Enlarges meaſures, and the value of money, 216. Unhappily diſcovers his deſign to cancel debts, to ſome of his friends, who make a villanous advantage of it, *ibid.* Sets the firſt example of the remiſſion of debts, 217. The

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ſo freely, *ib.* Piſiſtratus obſerves the greateſt part of Solon's laws; upon which, Solon gives him ſome countenance, 241. Plato, too, attempts the deſcription of the Atlantic iſland, but does not live to finiſh it, *ib.* Solon lives cheerful to the laſt, *ib.* His aſhes ſaid to have been ſcattered about the iſle of Salamis, 242.

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Soloon, one of the companions of Theſeus in his expedition againſt the Amazons, i. 27. Drowns himſelf in conſequence of his hopeleſs paſſion for Antiope, 28. The river called by his name, *ib.*

† *Sophene*, country of, iii. 336, 344.

Sophax, ſon of Hercules by Tinga the widow of Antæus, builds a city which he calls Tingis, after the name of his mother, iv. 11, 12.

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Soranus, father to Atilia, Cato's firſt wife, v. 52.

Sorex the mimic, one of the people that Sylla amuſed himſelf with, iii. 262.

Sornatius, an officer under Lucullus, defeats a party of Mithridates's that attacked a convoy, iii. 324. Left in Pontus by Lucullus, 334.

Soſibius, miniſter to Ptolemy Philopater, forms a ſcheme againſt Cleomenes, v. 177, 178.

Soſicles and Aminias thruſt Ariamenes, Xerxes's brave admiral, with their pikes into the ſea, i. 301, 302.

Soſigenes, a friend of Demetrius Poliorcetes, v. 385.

Soſis the Syracuſan, his infamous character, vi. 31. Plots againſt Dion, *ib.* Condemned by the Syracuſans, and capitally puniſhed, 32.

Soſo, though ſiſter to Abantidas the reigning tyrant of Sicyon, ſaves Aratus when a child, vi. 142.

Soſſius Senecio, a Roman of conſular dignity, Plutarch dedicates his Lives to him, i. 1. vi. 1.

Soſſius, Mark Anthony's lieutenant, v. 421.

Soſtratus, a perſon of great authority in Syracuſe, invites Pyrrhus into Sicily, iii. 94. Pyrrhus grows jealous of him, and he is forced to fly, 95.

Soteria, a feaſt in honour of Aratus the deliverer of his country, vi. 196.

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Sous, king of Sparta, one of the anceſtors of Lycurgus, i. 99. Under his conduct the Spartans ſubdue the Helots, *ib.* He over reaches the Clitorians, *ib.*

Sow. The wild one of Crommyon, i. 9.

† *Spaniards* diſciplined in the Roman manner, and a number of their children educated by order of Sertorius, iv. 17, 18. They devoted their lives for their generals, *ibid.*

Spanus makes Sertorius a preſent of a white hind, iv. 13.

Sparamixes the eunuch, employed by Paryſatis to ruin Mithridates the Perſian, vi. 122.

† *Sparta*,

† *Sparta* the only city where riches had no influence, Plutus being there lame as well as blind, i. 113. The whole city, in the regularity which the inhabitants were obliged to obſerve, reſembled one great camp, 134. Or the diſcipline which ſome ſevere philoſophers lay themſelves under, 143. Fortitude cultivated there more than juſtice, 139, 140. Luxury enters that city along with money, v. 124. Oppreſſed by tyrants, iii. 12. United by Philopœmen to the Achæan league, 19.

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21. The Oſchophoria celebrated, in memory of that event, *ib.* and 22. The veſſel in which Theſeus ſailed, preſerved to the times of Demetrius Phalereus, 22. A temple erected and ſacrifices offered to Theſeus, the care of which he commits to the Phytalidæ, 23. He ſettles all the inhabitants of Attica in Athens, *ib.* Erects a democracy, 24. Connects the citadel with the city, *ib.* Inſtitutes the Panathenæa and Metœcia, *ibid.* Invites all ſtrangers to equal privileges in Athens, 25. Diſtinguiſhes the people into noblemen, huſbandmen, and mechanics, *ibid.* Theſeus the firſt that inclined to a popular government, 26. Gives the impreſſion of an ox to the Athenian money, *ib.* Adds Megara to the territory of Athens, *ibid.* Sets up a pillar in the Iſthmus, as a mark of diſtinction between Peloponneſus and Ionia, *ib.* Inſtitutes the Iſthmian games in honour of Neptune, *ibid.* Makes war upon the Amazons, and receives Antiope as the reward of his valour, 27. One of his companions, named Soloon, falls in love with Antiope, and drowns himſelf in conſequence of his hopeleſs paſſion, 28. Theſeus calls the river after his name, and builds a city, which he names Pythopolis, *ib.* The Amazons croſs the Cimmerian Boſphorus upon the ice, and march to Athens, *ib.* Theſeus ſacrifices to *Fear*, before he engages them, 29. The ſucceſs of the action dubious, *ibid.* A peace concluded after four months, *ib.* Theſeus has by the Amazon a ſon, named Hippolytus; or, according to Pindar, Demophon, 30. Marries Phædra after the death of Antiope, *ib.* His other marriages and amours, 31. He aſſiſts the Lapithæ againſt the Centaurs, *ib.* and Adraſtus, in recovering the bodies of thoſe that fell before Thebes, 32. The friendſhip between Theſeus and Pirithous, *ib.* Theſeus, on occaſion of his friend's marriage, goes with him into the country of the Lapithæ, and joins them againſt the Centaurs, 33. Procures Hercules admiſſion to the myſteries of Ceres, *ib.* Carries off Helen, when he was fifty years old, *ib.* He, and his friend Pirithous, are purſued as far as Tegea, 34. He places Helen at Aphidnæ, under the inſpection of his mother, *ib.* Goes with Pirithous into Epirus, to fetch off the daughter of Aidoneus, *ibid.* Pirithous is deſtroyed by Aidoneus's dog Cerberus, and Theſeus is impriſoned, *ibid.* Meantime Meneſtheus excites a ſedition in Athens, 35. and invites Caſtor and Pollux into Attica, *ib.* Academus informs them where Helen was concealed, *ib.* The academy always ſpared by the Lacedæmonians for his ſake, *ib.* The Tyndaridæ beat their adverſaries in a ſet battle, and demoliſh Aphidnæ, 36. Æthra, the mother of Theſeus, is carried to Lacedæmon, and from thence, with Helen, to Troy, 37. Theſeus is releaſed

leaſed by Aidoneus, at the interceſſion of Hercules, *ib.* Returns to Athens, and attempts to reduce the Athenians by force, but is overpowered, 38. Sends his children into Eubœa, and retires to the iſle of Scyros, where he is treacherouſly deſtroyed by Lycomedes, *ibid.* Meneſtheus dying in the expedition to Troy, the ſons of Theſeus recover the kingdom, 39. After the Median war, the Athenians are commanded by the oracle to bring the bones of Theſeus to Athens, *ib.* This is carried into execution by Cimon, who places the remains near the Gymnaſium; and Theſeus's oratory is made a place of refuge, 40.

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Theſmophori, vi. 49.

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† *Theſpiæ*, ii. 330. iii. 208. iv. 95. v. 373.

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† *Theſprotians*, iii. 61.

† *Theſſaly*, i. 42. iv. 377. v. 370.

† *Theſſalonica*, v. 55.

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Thimbro commands the Lacedæmonian forces in their firſt attempt to deliver the Aſiatic Greeks, but without ſucceſs, vi. 128.

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Thonis, the Egyptian courtezan, v. 360.

Thonon, one of the principal perſons in Syracuſe, ungratefully put to death by Pyrrhus, iii. 94.

Thor, in the Phœnician language, a heifer, iii. 237.

Thoranius, lieutenant to Metellus, ſent againſt Sertorius, and killed by that general, iv. 15.

Thorax commands the Spartan land-forces at the ſiege of Lampſacus, and gives his ſoldiers the plunder after the town was ſtormed, iii. 181. Put to death by the Ephori, becauſe there was ſilver found in his poſſeſſion, 195.

Thorax of Lariſſa, the only perſon that paid any attention to the dead body of Antigonus, v. 362.

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† *Thrace*, ii. 17. iii. 276, 291.

† *Thraceia*,

† *Thraceia*, village of, iii. 313.
Thracian officer puſhed into a well by Timoclea. See *Timoclea*.
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Thraſydæus, one of Philip's ambaſſadors to Thebes, v. 254
Thraſyllus, an Athenian general, his troops deſpiſed by thoſe of Alcibiades, for the defeat which Pharnabazus had given them near Epheſus, ii. 140. Afterwards victorious in conjunction with Alcibiades, 141.
† *Thraſymenus*. See *Thraſymenian* lake.
Thriambus, one of the titles of Bacchus, ii. 389.
† *Thryaſia*, i. 302. iv. 95.
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† *Thurii*, a city in Italy, built by Dionyſius Chalcus, iii. 378. Colonized by Pericles, ii. 17.
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† *Thurium*, ii. 229. iii. 237. v. 267.
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† *Thyatira*, iii. 247.
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† *Tibarene*, iii. 320.
† *Tiber*, river, i. 41. ii. 296.
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Tigellinus, captain of the prætorian band in Nero's time, vi. 199. The people inſiſt upon his being capitally puniſhed, 214. He bribes Vinius, chief miniſter to Galba, *ib.* Pretends to be ſick, but ſoon makes the moſt inſolent rejoicings for his recovery, *ib.* Makes magnificent preſents to Vinius's daughter, *ibid.* Otho ſends for him, 230. He cuts his own throat, *ib.*
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† *Tigranocerta*, iii. 337, 343.

† *Tigris*, river, iii. 336.

† *Tigurini*, iv. 345.

† *Tilphoſium*, iii. 242.

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Timaſitheus, governor of Lipara, perſuades his people to ſpare a Roman veſſel charged with offerings to Apollo at Delphi, i. 337. The Romans acknowledge the favour, *ib.*

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Timeſileos, the tyrant of Sinope, expelled by the Athenians, who ſend thither ſix hundred coloniſts, ii. 29.

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hand Dion by the tyranny of Dionyſius, v. 18. Commands in the abſence of Dionyſius, 24.

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Timoleon. The diſtracted ſtate of the Syracuſan affairs before he was ſent into Sicily, ii. 211. Dionyſius takes advantage of the diſtractions, to re-eſtabliſh himſelf, after he had been expelled ten years, *ib.* The moſt conſiderable of the Syracuſans fly to Icetes, prince of Leontium; and afterwards, on appearance of a Carthaginian fleet, apply to the Corinthians for aſſiſtance; for the Syracuſans were a colony from Corinth, 212. Icetes acts a double part on that occaſion, *ib.* The Corinthians grant the ſuccours, and give the command of them to Timoleon, the ſon of Timodemus and Demariſte, 213. His character, *ib.* He ſaves the life of his brother Timophanes, in one of his expeditions, 214. Endeavours to diſſuade his brother from ſetting himſelf up tyrant in Corinth, *ib.* Finds him obſtinate, and is inſtrumental in his death, 215. Is much afflicted on account of his mother's averſion to him, and gives himſelf up a prey to melancholy, 216. Twenty years after, he is appointed to the command in Sicily, 217. What Teleclides ſaid to him on that occaſion, *ibid.* The Corinthians have clear proof of Icetes's duplicity, 218. Omens of ſucceſs to Timoleon, 218, 219. He arrives at Rhegium with ten gallies. Icetes, having beaten Dionyſius in a ſet battle, ſends the Carthaginians with artful propoſitions to Timoleon, but ſecretly charges them to prevent his landing in Sicily, *ib.* 220. Timoleon outwits them, and lands at Tauromenium, *ib.* 221. Andromachus, the prince of that city, permits him to make it a place of arms, 221. The Sicilians having been often deceived by pretended deliverers, no other city, except Adranum, is inclined to receive Timoleon, 222. A battle is fought between Icetes and Timoleon near Adranum, in which the former is defeated, 223, 224. Several cities join in alliance with Timoleon, particularly Catana, and its prince Mamercus, 224. Dionyſius offers to deliver up to him both himſelf and the citadel of Syracuſe, *ibid.* Timoleon ſends four hundred men, by a few at a time, into the citadel, *ib.* This corps takes poſſeſſion of the arms, ſtores, and all that belonged to the tyrant, except his money, 225. With his money he gets on board a ſhip, and eſcapes to the camp of Timoleon, *ibid.* Is ſent, with a very moderate

ſum of money, to Corinth, *ib.* An account of his former ſufferings, *ib.* The mean life he led at Corinth, 226. Sayings of his, which ſeem to indicate that he bore his misfortunes with ſome firmneſs, 227. His anſwer to a man who attempted to be arch upon him, *ib.* and to Philip of Macedon, 228. The Corinthians ſend Timoleon a reinforcement, which ſtops at Thurium, becauſe the ſea was beſet with the Carthaginian fleet, 229. Icetes carries on the ſiege of the citadel with great vigour, *ib.* Sends two men to Adranum, to aſſaſſinate Timoleon, *ib.* Timoleon's providential deliverance, *ib.* 230. Icetes takes an army of Carthaginians into Syracuſe, 231. The citadel is much diſtreſſed, but Timoleon finds means to ſend proviſions into it, *ib.* Mago the Carthaginian general, and Icetus, go againſt Catana, from whence thoſe proviſions came, *ib.* Leo, the governor of the citadel, ſallies out, defeats the troops that were left in the city, and takes Achradina, a conſiderable quarter of the city, 231, 232. Hanno goes to parade before Syracuſe with the pretence of a victory, and in the mean time the Corinthian reinforcement lands in Sicily, and joins Timoleon, 233. Timoleon takes Meſſena, *ib.* Marches to Syracuſe, *ibid.* Mago is apprehenſive of a revolt amongſt the troops of Icetes, and retires to Africa, 234, 235. Icetes ſtands boldly upon his defence; but Timoleon attacks the city in ſeveral quarters at once, and carries it without the loſs of one Corinthian, 235. He calls the citizens together to deſtroy the citadel, which had been the ſeat of tyranny, 236. Erects upon the place a common hall, *ib.* Syracuſe being in want of inhabitants, he applies to the Corinthians for a ſupply, 237. The Corinthians collect the Syracuſan exiles, and with ſome new coloniſts, make up a ſupply of ten thouſand, 238. Timoleon collects a much greater number, *ib.* Divides the lands amongſt them gratis, but ſells the houſes for a thouſand talents, *ib.* This money becomes a ſupply for the public treaſury, which was exhauſted by the war, *ib.* Before this the Syracuſans had condemned and ſold the ſtatues of their kings and tyrants, ſparing none but that of Gelo, *ib.* Timoleon delivers the other cities from their tyrants, *ib.* Reduces Icetes to a private ſtation, *ib.* Leptines, prince of Apollonia, is alſo depoſed, and ſent to Corinth, *ib.* Timoleon, aſſiſted by commiſſioners from Corinth, gives the Syracuſans a body of laws, 239. Sends his lieutenants to ravage the Carthaginian province, *ibid.* The Carthaginians arrive at Lillybaeum with a numerous and well-appointed army, *ib.* Aſdrubal and Hamilcar march in great fury againſt the Corinthians, 240. Timoleon meets them near the banks of the Crimeſus, with a handful of men, *ib.* Dexterouſly turns an imagined ill omen

omen into a ſign of victory, *ibid.* Another good preſage, 241. He and his troops have a diſtinct view of the enemy, before they are ſeen themſelves, *ib.* He attacks them as they are paſſing the river, 242. The battle deſcribed, 242, 243. A thunder-ſtorm befriends the Greeks, 243. Timoleon, with the news of the victory, ſends the handſomeſt of the Carthaginian arms to Corinth, 244. At his return to Syracuſe, he baniſhes the thouſand mercenaries, who had deſerted him before the battle, 245. Mamercus and Icetes revolt, and call the Carthaginians in again, who ſend another army under Giſco, 245. The confederates gain ſome advantages againſt Timoleon; but he loſes only the mercenaries, 246. While he is beſieging Calauria, Icetes makes an inroad into the Syracuſan territories, and in his return inſults Timoleon himſelf, 247. The latter lets him paſs, but purſues and defeats him, on the banks of the river Damyrias or Lamyrias, *ib.* Takes him alive at Leontium, and puts him to death, together with his ſon Eupolemus, and Euthymus his general of horſe, *ib.* 248. Suffers the Syracuſans to deſtroy the women of Icetes's family, *ibid.* Mamercus of Catana, and Hippo of Meſſena, are alſo reduced, and capitally puniſhed, 249. The Carthaginians conclude a peace with him, *ib.* Agrigentum and Gela are now repeopled, 250. He is happy in the affections of the Sicilians; in an eaſe and elegance that attend all his actions; and in the perpetual favour of fortune, 250, 251, 252. Spends the remainder of his life amongſt the Syracuſans, and enjoys the bleſſings he had procured, 252. The anſwers he made, on being attacked by two demagogues, 253. In his old age loſes his ſight, *ib.* 254. He is conſulted, notwithſtanding, on all important points, and in every reſpect treated with great honour by the Syracuſans, 254, 255. His eaſy death, and magnificent funeral, 255. His memory celebrated with annual games, 256. A palæſtra is erected around his monument, *ibid.* The Syracuſans happy in his laws for a long courſe of years, *ib.*

Timon the poet, vi. 14.

Timon the man-hater, paſſes others by without notice, but addreſſes Alcibiades with great kindneſs, becauſe he thought he would do much miſchief, ii. 120. v. 456. His anſwer to Apemantus, *ibid.* His addreſs to the people of Athens, *ibid.* His epitaph, 457.

Timon the Phliaſian, ii. 6.

Timonaſſa of Argos, ii. 487.

Timonides, vi. 19, 28.

Timophanes, Timoleon's elder brother, ii. 313. Of a ſanguine and ambitious diſpoſition, *ib.* Commands the Corinthian cavalry in a battle with the Argives, 214. In great danger, but reſcued by his brother, *ibid.* The Corinthians,

Corinthians, for the ſecurity of their city, entertain four hundred mercenaries in their ſervice, and give the command to Timophanes, *ib.* By the aſſiſtance of theſe mercenaries he inſlaves his country, *ib.* Timoleon and his friends intreat him to relinquiſh the tyranny, 215. Timophanes, abſolutely rejecting their advice, is poniarded, *ib.*

Timotheus, the Athenian general, ii. 315. His obſervation that a commander in chief ought to be aſhamed of needleſsly hazarding his perſon, *ibid.* Will attribute nothing to fortune, iii. 218. Is baniſhed, 219.

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Timoxenus, elected general of the Achæan league, vi. 179.

Tinga, widow of Antæus, has a ſon called Sophax, by Hercules who had killed her huſband, iv. 12.

† *Tingis*, a city of Africa, built by Sophax, and ſo named from his mother Tingi, iv. 11.

Tinnius, the huſband of Fannia, iii. 160. The quarrel between him and his wife, *ib.* Their cauſe comes before Marius, *ib.* How decided.

Tireus, an eunuch of Darius's bed-chamber, iv. 264.

Tiribazus, iv. 92. What Artaxerxes ſaid to him, on his putting on the king's robe, vi. 110. When he mounts Artaxerxes on a freſh horſe, after he had been diſmounted in battle with Cyrus, deſires him to remember that day, 116. The many changes in his fortune, 133. Delivers Artaxerxes and his whole army, in the expedition againſt the Caduſians, *ib.* Artaxerxes promiſes him his daughter, and diſappoints him, 136. In revenge, he ſtirs up Darius againſt his father, 137. His character, *ib.* His ſpeech to Darius, *ib.* His deſigns being diſcovered, he is ſurprized by the guards, and dies fighting in his own defence, 138.

Tiſaphernes, an officer in the army of Cyrus, killed in battle by Artaxerxes, vi. 117.

Tiſiphonus, ii. 356.

Tiſius, ii. 112.

Tiſſaphernes, the king of Perſia's lieutenant, though a great enemy to the Greeks, is charmed with the behaviour of Alcibiades, ii. 132. After the great naval victory which Alcibiades gained of the Lacedæmonians, is afraid of the reſentment of his maſter the king of Perſia, ſeizes Alcibiades, and ſends him to Sardis, 138. Agrees upon a truce with Ageſilaus, promiſing to ſet free the Aſiatic Greeks, but ſoon breaks it, iv. 74. Defeated by Ageſilaus, 75, 76. Put to death by the king of Perſia, *ib.*

Tiſſaphernes diſcovers Cyrus's conſpiracy againſt his brother Artaxerxes Mnemon, and communicates it to the king, vi. 108.

Titans, i. 175.

† *Tithora*, iii. 234.

Tithrauſtes, ſucceſſor to Tiſſaphernes, puts him to death by order of the king of Perſia, iv. 76. Propoſes terms of peace to Ageſilaus, and promiſes him large ſums of money,

ney, *ib.* Defeated by Cimon, iii. 288.

Titianus, the brother of Otho, vi. 237.

Titillius, ſent by Flaminius into Thrace, to expel the garriſons of Philip, iii. 42.

Titinius, the friend of Caſſius, vi. 91. Kills himſelf, 92.

Titius, Quintus, foretels a victory to Sylla, iii. 236.

Titius, quæſtor to Antony, v. 430. Goes over to Octavianus, 444.

Titurius and *Cotta*, officers in Cæſar's army, cut off by Ambiorix, iv. 353.

Titus Lartius, left by Cominius to command at the ſiege of Carioli, while he went to fight the Volſcians, ii. 163.

Titius the Crotonian, ſets out with letters to Catiline from the conſpirators in Rome, v. 290. Seized by order of Cicero, 291. Upon a promiſe of impunity, diſcovers all he knew of the plot, *ib.*

Titus, one of the ſons of Junius Brutus, put to death for conſpiring with the Tarquins againſt the commonwealth, by order of his father, and in his ſight, i. 249, 250. See the other *Titi*, under their family names.

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† *Tolerium*, ii. 188.

Tolmæus, ii. 28.

Tolmides, ſon of Tolmæus. Pericles endeavours to diſſuade him from an unneceſſary expedition into Bœotia, ii. 27. Killed in battle, 28. iv. 87.

Tolumnius, the Tuſcan general, killed by Cornelius Coſſus, who thereupon is entitled to the Spolia Optima, i. 65.

Torquatus and Dolabella, Sylla's officers, adviſe him to delay his engagement with the Lucanians and Samnites, before the gates of Rome, iii. 254.

Torquatus, Manlius. See *Manlius*.

† *Toryne*, taken by Cæſar, v. 448.

† *Trachin*, i. 33.

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† *Tralles*, iv. 377.

† *Trallians*, a people of Thrace, demand a conſideration of Ageſilaus for his paſſage through their country, iv. 83. Defeated by him, *ib.*

† *Trapezus*, iv. 37.

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Trebatius, a friend of Cæſar's, v. 313.

Trebellius, one of the friends of Antony, v. 398.

† *Trebia*, battle of, ii. 58.

Trebonius, Caius, tribune of the people, propoſes a decree by which provinces were to be continued, or given, to Cæſar, Craſſus, and Pompey, iv. 179. v. 87. Holds Antony in converſation without the court, while Cæſar is killed in the ſenate-houſe, iv. 398. *n.*

Triarius, Lucullus's lieutenant, de-

defeated by Mithridates, iv. 162.
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Tribunes of the people, when first obtained, ii. 162. and *n*. Their power consisted principally in putting a negative on the proceedings they disliked, v. 65, 194. Could not effect any thing as a body, if one were dissentient, *ibid*. The only officers who preserved their authority when a dictator was appointed, ii. 69. Justly compared to a violent medicine, v. 65.
† *Triccæans*, v. 158.
† *Triopium*, iii. 288.
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† *Tritta*, vi. 151.
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† *Troas*, iii. 246, 306.
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† *Troy*, how often taken, iv. 2.
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Tubero the Stoic, calls Lucullus "Xerxes in a gown," iii. 358.
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† *Tudertia*, by Pliny called *Tuder*, iii. 424.
† *Tudertum*, iii. 133.
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† *Volſci* invade the Roman territories, i. 365. Reduced by Camillus, 368. Take up arms again, and, together with the Prænestines, ravage the countries of thoſe who were in alliance with Rome, 371. Again defeated by Camillus, 372. Collect all their force to relieve the city of Corioli, ii. 163. Give ſhelter to Coriolanus, who heads their armies, 183—188. Diſpatch that general, and then regret his death, 203. Entirely ſubdued by the Romans, 204.

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† *Vulturnus*, river, by the Greeks called Lothronus, ii. 65.
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† *Xanthians*, iv. 244. vi. 54. The paſſionate deſire that people had of death, 80.

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† *Zacynthus*, iſle of, iii. 49, 408. vi. 19.

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† *Zaretra*, a caſtle in Euboea, taken by Phocion, v. 16.

† *Zela*, city of, iv. 380.

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† *Zenodotia*, iii. 441.

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